AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF Church-Government As it was in *GREAT-BRITAIN* AND IRELAND.

When they first received

The CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Wm. BY Lloyd,

The Bishop of St. *Asaph.*

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To the Reverend

Dr. *Stillingfleet*

Dean of St. *Paul's*,

And the Pious and Learned

Mr. *Henry Dodwell.*

My moſt worthy Friends,

HAving ſhewn you a draught of this Book ſome years ſince, I was then encouraged by You to make it Publick; and thereupon I ſuffered it to go into the Preſs.

It is not worth telling the world why it came out no ſooner. God be praiſed it is not yet too late to do the good that I deſigned by it. And the Church has not needed the ſervice of this inconſiderable piece,

while it has been defended by ſo many others, and eſpecially by your moſt Learned and Judicious Labours.

I could not paſs by this Occaſion without making ſome kind of Acknowledgment, to You in particular, of the Debt that is owing from the whole Church to all them that have ſtood up in the Breach againſt her Enemies. If Men ſhould forget, God will ſurely remember it. To his Grace I commend you, and remain,

Yours in all true Affection

and Service

W. Aſaph.

PREFACE.

AMong all the Arguments that have been used of late times against Episcopal Government, there is none that hath made more noise in the World, or that hath given more colour to the Cause of our Adversaries, than that which they have drawn from the Example of the ancient *Scottish* Church. And indeed it would be of very great force, if they could prove what they say; that in the second Century, or beginning of the third, there was a Church formed without Bishops, and that it continued so for some hundreds of Years. There may be some farther improvement of this, by suggesting that at last, when the Government changed, it was by the means of one *Palladius*, who was the first that brought Episco-

The Occasion of the following Book.

pacy into that Nation. For this *Palladius*, having had his Ordination at *Rome*; the very mention of this may make it ſeem as if he brought in Popery with it. And perhaps our Adverſaries would be willing to have it believed that he did ſo: tho none of them have thought fit to ſay this in plain terms, for fear of giving Advantage to the Papiſts; who would be very glad to have it granted that Popery was ſo ancient as to come within four hundred years after Chriſt's Aſcenſion into Heaven. But that the Church of *Scotland* was ſo early, and ſo long, without Biſhops is a thing that ſeems to have paſs'd without diſpute; being acknowledged, as it were with one conſent, by all the now extant *Scottiſh* Hiſtorians.

Spotſwood's Church-Hiſtory.

How far their Authority hath gone in that Nation, we may judge, by what we ſee in Archbiſhop *Spotſwood's* Church-Hiſtory. We cannot have the leaſt doubt of the judgment of that moſt worthy and Reverend Prelate, ſince he hath ſo fully declared it in the ſolemneſt Act of his life: It

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is in his last Will and Testament that he gives this account of himself to Posterity; *As touching the Government of the Church, I am verily perswaded that the Government Episcopal is the only right and Apostolical Form.* And yet, in the Book above-mentioned, he doth unawares (as far as I can judge) yield that which affords to our Adversaries a great Presumption against Episcopal Government. I say he doth this unawares; for it is plain that he designed to write a History, only of such things as had past since the Reformation. He did not trouble his head to search into the Original of the *Scottish* Church: but as to that, he contented himself to deliver those things which were *the Opinion most commonly received.* And yet, in following *the received Opinion*, he must needs bar himself from any way to answer the before-mentioned Argument against Episcopacy. For the same Authority that there is for the being of a Church there in *Scotland* from King *Donald*'s Time; (that is, from the year 203, as he places it;) the same

See *the Author's life*, before his History.

See his *Epistle Dedicatory.*

Spotswood's Hist. p. 4.

Authority there is for *a Church that was Governed* so many Ages together *by Monks and Presbyters without Bishops*. This he found when he came to that part of his History, where his Authors lay it before him in the Terms that I have written. And therefore he makes them such an Answer as I do not think it worth the while to repeat. Howsoever he might satisfie himself with it; I do not doubt but his Presbyterian Countrymen look'd upon it as a very unsufficient Answer, and amounting to little less than a Confession, that their Church was first planted, and so long continued, without Bishops. In consequence whereof, they might reasonably conclude, that when they Covenanted against Episcopacy they had only used their own right; and thrown out that which was a confessed Innovation, in order to the restoring of that which was their Primitive Government.

Ibid. p. 7.

I would to God we had not so much cause to remember how that Example was followed in this Kingdom. They that were for destroying Episco-

Episcopacy here, as they had the *Scottish* Reformation for their Pattern, so they alledged the *Scottish* Tradition for the justifying of it. In that laborious Collection of *Blondell's*, (which was made for the service of our Presbyterians,) he, with all his vast Reading, could not find one undoubted Example of a Church of their way in ancient Times, but only that of the *Scots*. But to make the most of that, he vouches it as a thing out of Controversie; and tells his Readers how early it began; before Pope *Victor's* death, which was (as he tells us) in the year 197. *July* 28. And yet, as to the use that he makes of this Note; namely, to shew the Antiquity of a Church-Government by Presbyters; he very well knew that he had no Author for it, that lived within a thousand years of that time. He was so wise as not to set down the year and day when any of them died whom he quotes for this matter; tho he constantly doth it, as oft as he can hope that that punctual Notation of time will make his Author appear to be of so

Blondelli Apol. *pro Hieron.* P. 314, 366, 375.

Ibid. p. 314.

ſo much the more Credit. Nay, he doth it oftentimes, with no other deſign, that appears, but for meer oſtentation of his skill in Chronology: which, rather than hurt his Cauſe with it, he thought better to ſpare on this occaſion.

The Occaſion of this Preface.

But to ſhew how little reaſon our Adverſaries have to boaſt of this Inſtance of a Church without Epiſcopal Government, it will be neceſſary for me to ſhew how little credit there is to be given to thoſe Writers upon whoſe Authority it is that they aſſert this. They ſeem indeed to make a great Muſter of Witneſſes, when they ſay they have all the *Scottiſh* Hiſtorians to prove it: and ſome of them ſpeak as if the faith of the Nation muſt needs be engaged for the Credit of thoſe Hiſtorians.

But for the number of Witneſſes, I think that is not much to be conſidered, when they come (as theſe do) all in File, one after another; ſo that all their ſtrength is reſolved into the Credit of one Author; and what he was I ſhall conſider in due time.

For

For the Nations concernment on the account of their Hiſtorians, I know no ſuch neceſſity of That, as our Adverſaries ſeem to ſuppoſe. The Hiſtorian obliges the Nation whoſe Hiſtory he writes, as the Painter does the Perſon whoſe Picture he draws; juſt as far as he does his work true, and no farther. If he gives them thoſe Ornaments which are not their own, he wrongs them; and gives others occaſion to think there was need of it to cover ſome deformity or other. The Scottiſh Nation have needed no ſuch helps at any time ſince the Hiſtories we ſpeak of were written. They have excelled moſt other Nations in Arts and Arms; And eſpecially in the purity of Religion; abating only for that blemiſh which hath been contracted chiefly by their giving too eaſie a belief to thoſe Fictions which I am now about to diſprove.

But beſides, it ought to be conſidered in this Caſe, and I deſire that it may be remembred all along in my Preface, that what I write is only concerning their Antiquities. No Records of the Antiquities of theſe Nations.

I do not queſtion the truth of any thing that is ſaid to have been done within theſe eight hundred years: Nay, within 1400. by their telling, who make their planting here before Chriſts Incarnation, and their Converſion about two hundred years after it. Now it were very ſtrange if any Nation in our part of *Europe* ſhould think themſelves obliged to ſtand by their Hiſtorians in what they write, of things before, or ſo ſoon after, Chriſts Incarnation. In thoſe early times (as all learned men know) they had no Letters, but what they borrowed from the *Greeks* or the *Romans*. And eſpecially in *Scotland*, if there were any Chriſtians ſo early, as ſome would conclude from thoſe words of *Tertullian*, where he ſaith, that *thoſe Britiſh Nations that could not be ſubdued by the Romans, yet willingly yielded their necks to the yoak of Chriſt*; (I ſay, if thoſe words do import that there were Chriſtians in *Scotland* at that time,) yet they muſt be allowed to be of the number of thoſe, who, as *Irenæus* ſaith of many of the Barbarous Nations, *held*

Tertul. Cont. Jud. c. 7.

Iren. de Hær. 3.4.

held the Faith by Tradition, without the help of Paper and Ink; meaning, as he explains himſelf, that for want of Letters they could have no uſe of the Scriptures.

We have much reaſon to doubt whether thoſe unlettered Nations had any deſire to convey any knowledge of themſelves to Poſterity. But if they had the Will, they wanted the means to do it: and therefore we cannot wonder that we know ſo little of them or their condition, either in, or before the *Roman* times. But what ſhall we ſay of thoſe Nations that were Subjects of the *Roman* Empire, and therefore wanted not means to convey what they would to Poſterity? Had they any care to preſerve their Antiquities, and to deliver over to their Children in writing what they had received by Tradition from their Forefathers? We find little ſign of it in moſt of theſe Nations: ſo little eſpecially in our Iſland, that we are to thank Strangers for any thing that we know of our People and Religion, or of our Iſland in the ancienteſt times.

To

To begin where I have reaſon to believe leaſt exception will be taken; what have they to ſay in *France*, or in *Spain*, of the ancient Inhabitants of thoſe Countries, before they came to be under the *Romans*? Or what account can they give of themſelves, how they came firſt to be Chriſtians? They have nothing of thoſe Times, but what ignorant men have deviſed, and what the Learned are now aſhamed to ſay after them.

Of the *French* and *Spaniſh*.

In that Nation for which I am chiefly concerned, I know no learned man but will freely acknowledge this, and will think it no blemiſh to the honour of our Country.

Of the *Britiſh* Hiſtorians.

We had indeed one Writer, that lived, tho not under the *Roman* Empire, yet very ſoon after it; namely *Gildas*; from whom, if from any in that Age, there might have been expected an Hiſtory of his Country. But he freely acknowledges that we had no Writer to furniſh him with materials for a juſt Hiſtory: and that, for the writing of that little Summary that he

Gildas.

De excidio Brit. c. 1.

he gives us, he was fain to borrow what he had from them beyond the Seas.

Within 300 years after him, we had another, called *Nennius*, that, (as himſelf tells us) was employed to write a Hiſtory of our Nation. It was indeed at a time when Learning ran very low in this Iſland, as we may Judge by the Preface of King *Alfred*'s Saxon Tranſlation of *Gregory*'s Paſtoral; which I mention the rather for the credit of this Writer, and of them that ſet him on work. No doubt they choſe the ableſt man that they knew, and he wanted not a good will to have written a Hiſtory. But he alſo confeſſed that he had not wherewith to perform it; and that the poor Fragments that he put together, were little elſe than what he was fain to borrow from other neighbouring Nations. *Nennius.* *In Præfat. & in Apologiâ.*

In this want that we have of any ancient Hiſtorian, but ſuch as theſe, that acknowledged they knew no other before them; how come we to have the knowledge of Perſons and things which theſe good men

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seem to have never heard of? Whence have we that punctual account of so many particulars that pass'd at the first and second planting of this Island? Whence have we that Succession of Kings from *Brutus* downward; with notation of Time and Place, and other circumstances, more minute than could be conveyed without writing?

Jeffrey of *Monmouth.*

All these things we owe to the invention of one that lived in very dark times: and then, knowing that whatsoever he should say of this kind, there was none that was able to disprove him, took the liberty to devise what he pleased, and set it forth as undoubted true History. Indeed I must do him the right to acknowledge that the Mother Lye of all in his Book, I mean that of *Brutus*, was not wholly of *Jeffrey*'s devising. He might have had the ground of it from others, and particularly from *Merlin* or *Talieſſin*; for there is something of our coming from *Troy* in old Verses that go under their names: But because it is so little that they say, and the Authority

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of that is not certain, I rather believe he had it from *Nennius* beforementioned.

Where *Nennius* undertakes to give account of the Original of the *Britains*; he tells us, that there were two accounts of it then in the World. *Nennius*, c. 2.

One of them was that which (as he tells us) *he found by Tradition of the Ancients that were the first Inhabitants of Britain*; Namely, that they were so called from one *Britto*, that was the Son of *Hysichion*, the Son of *Alanus*, of the Progeny of *Japhet*. Which *Alanus*, by his telling, peopled all this part of *Europe*. For from him, by one Son came *Francus*, *Romanus*, *Alemannus*, and *Britto*; by another came *Gothus*, *Walagothus*, *Gepidus*, *Burgundus*, and *Longobardus*; by a third came *Wandalus*, *Saxo*, *Bognardus*, and *Turingus*. The meaning of all this is very plain; not that any single Persons called by these Names, but that all these Nations, were descended from *Japhet*, and were all first called by the general name of *Alani*: which may have some truth

Ibid. c. 13. *Ex Traditione veterum, qui incolæ fuerunt in primis* Britanniæ *temporibus.*

truth in it for ought I know; but howſoever, it is obſervable that this was the moſt ancient Tradition that he found among the *Britains* in his Age.

His other account of our Original, was, that we came from one *Brutus* a *Roman* Conſul: and to make out this Extraction, he tells us, *it is written in the Annals of the Romans* that *Æneas* came with his Son *Aſcanius* into *Italy*, and that there he begat *Sylvius*, who had a Son called *Brutus*, that came hither, and gave the name to this Iſland. So that plainly this Butterfly was not bred in our Country, but flew hither out of *Italy*: where he that will know more of it muſt look into *the Annals of the Romans*. I am afraid that ſome of them that came hither from *Rome* in the *Saxon* times plaid pranks with us, and abuſed the ſimplicity of our Anceſtors, in this, as they did in other things.

Nennius, c. 3. *In Annalibus Romanorum ſic Scriptum eſt.*

But howſoever this ſtory came into the World, it was enough for our *Jeffrey* that he found it in *Nennius*'s Book: (For it is *Nennius* whom

whom he uſually quotes by the name of *Gildas*; and his Book is all that I can find he had to ſhew for his *Britiſh* Hiſtory.) It was a Story ſo agreeable to the humour of that Age that a ſoberer man than he was could not forbear to recommend himſelf with it. In his Age it was come to be a very modiſh thing for Writers to derive their Nations from the *Trojans*. There is more than one Inſtance of this in *Henry* Archdeacon of *Huntington's* Hiſtory. He tells us, that when King *Henry* I. (who was not called *Beauclerk* for nothing) inquired into the Originals of the *French* Nation; one of their learned men told him, that *as moſt other Nations of Europe, ſo the French, were deſcended from the Trojans:* and thereupon ſhewed how their Anceſtors came from *Troy* with *Antenor*, &c. This hapned in the year 1128, as the Archdeacon there ſhews. And he tells this without any cenſure, but rather, as it ſeems, with approbation. For in that part of his Hiſtory which he was then writing, and which ends within ſeven years after

Henry Hunt. l. 4. p. 219. b. 13.

Ibid. l. 1. p. 171. b.

that time, he likewiſe begins his work with that account of our Original from the *Trojans*. It was very ſoon after this, that our *Jeffrey* Archdeacon of *Monmouth* writ his Hiſtory of the *Britiſh* Kings. For, in his Preface before it, he mentions the death of King *Henry* I. with which *Huntington* ends that part of his Hiſtory: and he dedicates his Book to *Robert* Earl of *Glouceſter*, Son of *Henry* I. who died within eleven years after him. It is plain that both theſe Hiſtorians had that Book of *Nennius* before them; where they could not but ſee the *Two* accounts that he gives of our Original. But, as if they had winked upon one another, neither of them takes notice of that which was properly the *Britiſh* Tradition; but they were both alike for the *Romancing* account, of our being deſcended from the *Trojans*. Only *Henry* of *Huntington*, more like an Hiſtorian, delivers that part as he found it in his Author; but *Jeffrey*, taking that only for a ground, runs diviſion upon it, ſports himſelf with his fancy, and

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ſays any thing that came in his head.

When *Jeffrey*'s Book came abroad into the World, it was preſently look'd upon as a new light in Hiſtory. All the Writers of that Age did, as it were, run to light their Candles at it: and their haſt to get before one another was ſo great, that it hath given occaſion to Us that live at this diſtance, to doubt whether ſome of them did not write before *Jeffrey* himſelf. Among theſe, I do not reckon the old Engliſh Poem that *Wheelock* quotes in his Notes upon *Bede*: For, though it has the Language of *Jeffrey*'s Age, yet perhaps it might be ſomething older, for it is writ in the old *Saxon* Character; but there is nothing in that Poem which might not have been taken immediately out of *Nennius* his Hiſtory. But thoſe which are ſaid to have written before *Jeffrey*, and yet have many of thoſe things that are taxed in his Book, are chiefly *Sigebert* of *Gembleurs*, and *Alfred* of *Beverley*. For the latter of the two, tho ſome would have it that he died before

In *Bede* Hiſt. p. 25.

Jeffrey writ; yet their Authors, *Bale* and *Pits*, have enough to shew the contrary; for in their Catalogues of *Alfred's* works they name his *Extracts out of Jeffrey*, and it is the first Book that they mention of his writing. The great doubt is concerning *Sigebert*; for he certainly died in the year 1113, which was above twenty years before *Jeffrey* writ. It cannot be denied that the contents of *his* History are summed up in the Preface that goes before *Sigebert*, and are afterward distributed in his Chronicle. But how did these things get into *Sigebert*? For it is certain they are none of that Author's. There are no such things in that Edition of his Work, which was made from the Original Copy in his Monastery. They must have been put in by some other, after *Sigebert*'s death. And from whence, but out of *Jeffreys* History?

Bal. Script. Angl. 1. 1. 74. *Pit.* an. 1136. *Alfred. Beverl.* Defloratione *Galfridi.*

Edit. *per Miræum* an. 1608.

It is plainly affirmed by the most learned Primate, that always knew what he said, but did not always tell his Reader so, as he doth in this Case; *We know that many things out*

Usser. de Primord. p. 201.

of

of Jeffrey are thruſt into Sigebert. But not to leave this upon any one's Credit, the Reader may *know* it himſelf, if he pleaſe, by comparing together the two Books of which we ſpeak. Whence did *Sigebert* learn that *Brutus built the City of* Tours *in* France, and that, *as* Homer *witneſſeth*? Who taught him to ſay that *Brutus* found *four Generations of Trojans* with *Corineus*? Or to ſpeak of *Hengiſts building a Promontory* in *Kent*? And of the *Saxons deſtroying all the Promontories from* Scotland *to* York? All theſe are *Jeffrey*'s own Words, as well as his Materials; howſoever they hapned to come into *Sigebert's* Preface and Chronicle. But not to hold the Reader in doubt any longer; he that put theſe fine things into *Sigebert*, is ſo honeſt as to tell where he had them. He ſaith, he had them out of *the Hiſtory of the Britains:* and to ſhew what Hiſtory he meant, he ſaith it was *lately tranſlated out of Britiſh into Latine.* How lately? It was not done while *Sigebert* was living; if this was our Britiſh Hiſtory, now extant:

The Preface before *Sigebert's* Chron. from *Galfr. Mon.* fol. VIII, b.

Ibid. from *Galfr.* fol. VII.

Sigeb. Chron. anno 434. from *Galfr.* fol. XLVII.

Et Chron. anno 457. from *Galfr.* fol. LXV. b.

Sigeb. Chron. anno 470.

and yet it could be no other; for *Jeffrey* himself saith of this; *I translated it out of British into Latine.* Well then; Let others bring *Sigebert* for an Author that writ these things before *Jeffrey*: I shall bring him that foisted these things into *Sigebert* for an Instance how early others Copied from *Jeffrey*: which is a farther proof of the Credit that was given to his Fables, even then in his own Age.

Galfr. Mon. in Præf. & in fine Libri.

It is true that, even in that fabulous Age, he was censured by some, for that licentious way of writing History: especially, by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *William* of *Newborough*; men that used so much of it themselves, that they seem to have feared he might bring it in disgrace by writing with too much Extravagance. But what had either of them to say against the *Trojan* part of *Jeffrey's* History? *Giraldus*, for his part, follows him in it; as if this were the only true thing in his Book. *Nubrigensis*, as sharp as he falls on *Jeffrey* for other things, yet hath not the least reflexion on him for this. I know

Giraldi, Cambriæ descr. c. 7.

Gul. Nubrig. in Præf.

not

not whereunto I may aſcribe this partiality: but that either they believed it themſelves, as others did; or at leaſt they durſt not disbelieve a thing that took ſo generally in their Age. How much leſs could others contradict it a hundred years after, when it was come to be a Tradition univerſally received? and that with ſo great an Authority, that it was thought ſufficient to prove any thing that could be inferred from it. There can be no greater Inſtance of this, than was given in that Controverſie between King *Edward* I. and Pope *Boniface* VIII. about the Title of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: That King founded his Title in the right of King *Brutus*; The Parliament owned it in a writing under their Seals; They ſent it to the Pope, who gave no anſwer, but yielded the Queſtion. About a hundred years after this, it was alledged in a General Council, by all our Biſhops and learned men, who ſtood upon it as an undeniable Proof of the Nobleneſs and Antiquity of this Kingdom.

Mat. Weſtmon. anno 1301. *Walſingham Hypod. Neuſtr.* P. 492. *Knighton* inter X. Scriptores *Angl.* Col. 2484.

Council of *Conſtance* Seſs. 31. proteſt. *Anglic.*

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This might well make our Anceſtors fond of their *Trojan* Original, when they ſaw all the great men judge it ſo honourable, and the learnedſt man living vouch for the truth of it. So that we are not to wonder, at this day, that we find the Name of *Brutus* at the Top of our Pedigrees. If others valued themſelves ſo much in being his Succeſſors, we had reaſon to glory much more that he was our Progenitor.

But the Honour that is got by a Lie laſts no longer than till Truth comes to light. Now, ſince Printing hath brought ſo much knowledge into this part of the World, we ſee our neighbouring Nations have ſent away their *Trojans* to the Poets from whence they came. And if we are reſolved to keep Ours, we muſt do it in ſpight of all true Hiſtory. Now therefore, if we are fond of a noble Extraction, we muſt lay out for it ſome more Probable way. And the way is obvious enough to any one, that is not, either deſtitute of learning, or poſſeſs'd with a love of Knight-Errantry: It is not without

without ſuſpicion of one, or both, of theſe Cauſes, that ſome are ſo concerned for *Jeffrey*'s Credit, as if the Honour of our Nation were to ſtand or fall by his Stories.

I wonder what they mean, ſays the *Scottiſh* Hiſtorian, that, *in ſpite of all the truth in Antiquity,* they will needs have it that they come from the *Trojans,* that were at the beſt a conquered People; and among them, from ſuch as were Traitors to their Country: when they might content themſelves (if they pleaſed) with that which *many acknowledge, and no learned man will gainſay, that they are deſcended from them that were the firſt Planters of their Country.* This is with great truth acknowledged by that learned Writer; not only to be that which we may juſtly aſſume, but to be one of the greateſt things that can be ſaid of any Nation. It was (as he obſerves) accounted ſo by the *Athenians,* who were the moſt competent Judges of honour, as being in their time the wiſeſt and moſt learned of all Nations.

Buchanan. Rer. Scot. l. 2. p. 44.

Cæſar. Comment. l. 5. Diodor. Bibl. l. 6.

But

But we have this to ſay for our ſelves ſo many Ages after the *Athenians*, when perhaps there are not many Nations in the World that can ſay it beſide us. We live ſtill in that Country of which our Anceſtors were the firſt Inhabitants. And tho we have been twice conquered ſince, yet we have ſtill kept our ground, and whatſoever we loſt either of thoſe times, we have gain'd much more by loſing it. For by being a Conqueſt of the *Roman* Empire, we got ſo much the earlier to be Subjects to Chriſt. And by the *Engliſh* Conqueſt, (which was not till after eight hundred years War; nor even then, but upon an honourable Compoſition;) we obtain'd a much happier condition than ever our Anceſtors enjoyed, or than we could have been capable of otherwiſe.

And we have this to ſay more, which few can ſay elſewhere; that we keep ſtill the ſame Language, which was ſpoken firſt in this Country: and we know no reaſon to doubt, but that, as one of our Anceſtors told a great King that invaded

vaded us, God will have an account for this Country in no other Language but ours at the day of Judgment. *Camdeni* Brit. de primis Incolis: ex *Giraldi* Typogr. *Walliæ.*

Other things I could add to the juſt honour of our Nation, but this one (in my judgment) is more than we can forego without being very great loſers by all the advantage that is given us in exchange for it by our Romancing Hiſtorian.

Of the *Scottiſh* Hiſtorians.

That the *Scots* have ſped no better than we, in the honour that hath been done them by their Writers, will ſoon appear to them that have any skill in Antiquity. I do not ſpeak here of the ancient *Scots* that live in *Ireland*, who no doubt have ſome remains of very ancient true Hiſtory. But our buſineſs at preſent is with them that live in the Iſle of *Britain*, the *Albian Scots*, as they are called for diſtinction ſake: Of them it is certain, they have not any Hiſtory that was written within a thouſand years after Chriſt; except thoſe Hiſtorical Verſes in the Manuſcript Annals of *Melros*, which perhaps may be of an ancienter date. The oldeſt Writer of their Nation

They writ late.

Nation that is quoted by their printed Hiſtorians, is *Veremund* Archdeacon of St. *Andrews*, that lived (as they ſay) about the time of *William* the Conquerour: and next to him, is *John Cambel*, who is ſaid to have lived in the time of our *Edward* the Firſt: but their Works are now loſt, if ever they were in being. I ſay, if they were; for I doubt it, becauſe I have not met with any one that hath ſeen them; nor are they quoted (that I know) but by *Hector Boethius*, who in his Preface, and elſewhere, names them for his principal Authors. But I doubt whether he had thoſe Authors whom he quotes; for he never quotes him that was his Author indeed, the Monk of *Fordon*, whom he ſeems to have followed in all his Antiquities.

See Chap. VII. p. 134.

This Monk of *Fordon* writ no earlier than in the fourteenth Century after Chriſt, and ſeems to have had no more knowledge of Antiquity than others had that lived in his Age. And yet, as far as I can perceive, it was He that helped the later Hiſtorians to all thoſe diſcoveries

veries of Persons and things, that were unknown to all their Predecessors. *Hector* put this Monk's Tales into the form of an History; and pieced them out with a very good Invention, that part in which he chiefly excelled. *Buchanan* put them into excellent Latine: he could have put them into as good Verse, if he had pleased; and that perhaps had been better, for then they would have look'd more like a Poem.

That they are by no means to be allowed the name of an History, it were easie to prove by all the ways that we have to judge of such matters. I shall only insist upon four ways of proving this, whereof the two first are the same that *Buchanan* himself useth in his refutation of our *British* Antiquities before-mentioned.

Objections against their Antiquities.

Rerum *Scot.* l. 2.

First, As to our *British* Originals, he Refutes them by shewing the distance of time at which the first Author of them lived from the Persons and things of which he writ.

And

And then, as to other parts of our Hiſtory, by ſhewing that they are contradicted by the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtorians. Theſe are two ſuch Notes of Impoſture as, whereſoever they are found, may very well ſhake the Credit of any Writer.

But beſides, there are two other things to be ſaid of the *Scots*, which *Buchanan* could not truly ſay of our *Britiſh* Hiſtorians. Firſt, That many of their Antiquities are nothing elſe but their ſuperſtructures upon ſuch Fables of our *Jeffrey's* as might have been eaſily convicted by thoſe ways of diſcovery. And Secondly, That the account which they give us of the Originals of their Nation and Religion, were not only unknown to their own Anceſtors, but that they are unreconcileably different from thoſe accounts which their Anceſtors gave of themſelves, and which were held moſt Authentick among them in ancient times. This I take to be a moſt clear and undeniable conviction of their Novelty.

First, it is a shrewd presumption against the Truth of any matter delivered in History, when it is said to have been many Ages before the time of him that was the first Author that mentioned it: and yet he doth not pretend to have seen any ancient Record for it, or to have any other Author that lived within an Age or two of those Times, I do not see what we can say for our Writers, when this is alledged against them by *Buchanan*, in the Case of our *Brutus*; and of all that Succession of Kings that are said to have reigned in this Isle before *Cesar* came hither. And if any one in like manner should question the story of our first Christian King *Lucius*, it must rest upon the Credit of venerable *Bede*, that writ above five hundred years after the Time when King *Lucius* is said to have lived: unless *Bede* had it out of the *Gesta Pontificum*, that Mixen of ill-contrived Forgeries, which perhaps was made before *Beda*'s time. We may reasonably presume that *Gildas* never heard any thing of King *Lucius*: which

That they want Authors of those Times.

gives a great ſuſpicion of the Truth of that ſtory. But let this paſs as it will.

For *Buchanan*'s part, he might have done well to have remembred this way of Trial at home among his own Authors: which if he had done, he would have ſpared many of the chief things of Ancient times that he has in his Hiſtory. For, which of his Authors, or what other whom they name, can be ſaid to have lived within twelve hundred years of *Fergus*, their pretended firſt Monarch? Or within ſix hundred years of *Donald*, their firſt Chriſtian King? And yet they pretend to give a certain account of the Acts of both theſe Kings, and of the years that they reigned, and of their Succeſſors, for many Ages, before they had the Uſe of Letters, for ought that appears in any Hiſtory.

So *Buchanan* in Rege 1. & paſſim.

But ſome of their Writers are ſo wiſe as to name no particular Author: but to ſay, *Thus we find in our ancient Annals*; and under that name they give themſelves leave to utter what they pleaſe. But when our

Hiſto-

Hiſtorians do the ſame, *Buchanan* takes them up for it; and ſays, *They that pretend to bring things out of old Annals, ought to give ſome account, who firſt delivered thoſe things, where they lay ſo long hid, how they paſs'd uncorrupt through ſo many Ages.* It cannot be denied that theſe are very reaſonable Inquiries. But they ſeem to have been out of *Buchanan's* Head, when he writ the Lives of his Forty firſt Kings. For elſe he would not have thought it worth the while to have mentioned any one of them in his Hiſtory. But it ſeems he thought it was ſufficient that he found them ſo in *Hector Boethius*, whom he follows, without asking any one of thoſe Queſtions that he puts to our *Britiſh* Hiſtorian.

Buchanan. Rer. Scot. l. 2. p. 41.

Another thing which *Buchanan* often takes notice of, and not without cauſe, in our old *Britiſh* Hiſtory, as to that part of it which fell within the Time of the *Roman* Emperours; is the great and manifeſt difference, in ſome things unreconcileable, between ours and the *Roman* Hiſtorians. It cannot be

That they agree not with the *Roman* Hiſtorians.

denied that this Objection cuts off a great part of our *Britiſh* Antiquities. And herein indeed the *Scots* have the odds of us, that their Figments are not ſo eaſie to be evicted out of the *Roman* Hiſtory. The reaſon of this is plain. Their *Hector* lived ſo much later than our *Jeffrey*; that by means of the Invention of Printing, which came into the World about twenty years before him, he could ſee divers Books of *Roman* Hiſtory, that were ſcarce to be found in *Jeffrey's* days. So that he was aware of that danger of laſhing out, and knew the bounds within which he might Invent without fear of diſcovery. But yet he did not obſerve them ſo well, but that he may be diſproved in very many Inſtances. Nay, *Buchanan* himſelf, who underſtood the *Roman* Hiſtory exceeding well, perhaps no man better in his Age; yet writing after them that were not ſo well skill'd in it, they left too great a task upon that Learned man, to make their Fictions agree with the *Roman* Hiſtory. And ſometimes they

they drew him after them into groſs abſurdities; of which I ſhall give a clear Inſtance in what I write upon the next Head.

Nor other ancient Writers.

The mean while, to give this Note its full ſcope, I ſhall extend it to others as well as to the *Romans*. It is equally due to all that write the things of their own Times, or ſuch as they find in good Records; that, ſo far, their Writings ſhould be a kind of Standard to all thoſe that come after them. This right I aſſert to *Adamnanus*, and to *Beda* among others; and ſhew that even where they writ of the things of their own Times, the *Scottiſh* Hiſtorians have taken the Liberty to vary from them in ſundry particulars.

Chap. I. §. 10. p. 38. Chap. II. § 4. p. 58. & §. 5. p 63.

That they borrow from *Jeffrey M.*

By what hath been ſaid, it ſufficiently appears that ours are not the only Antiquities that are to be convicted of falſhood by *Buchanan*'s Rules. But whatſoever our Antiquities were, it was all one to *Buchanan*'s Authors. Thoſe men whom he follows in his Hiſtory were pleaſed to follow him that was the worſt of our Writers, when

they thought it would make for their turn; Tho the things they took from him were Liable to either of those ways of conviction. I ought not to say this without some kind of proof, tho it will take up more room than can well be allowed in a Preface.

Jeffrey having found that *Severus* the Emperour died here in *Britain*, thought it most for the honour of our Country to kill him fairly in Battel. And therefore by power of Fancy he creates one *Fulgenius* to be General against him: who being over-powered here at home, went and fetch'd in the *Picts* out of *Scythia*, and with their aid fought *Severus*, and kill'd him, and was kill'd together for company. All this was *Jeffrey's* own proper Invention. And then having found that *Severus* left a Son, *Bassianus*, that was his Successor in the *Roman* Empire; he makes his *Britains* set up this *Bassianus* to be their King, on his Mother's account, who forsooth was the Sister of *Fulgenius*. Then having found that *Britain* was governed by *Carausius* at some

Galfr. Monumuth. l. 1. c. 2.

Time

Time after; he knew not when; to tack theſe things together, he makes the forementioned Emperour *Baſſianus*, (being betray'd by the *Picts* that came in with his Uncle *Fulgenius*,) be kill'd in fight by this *Carauſius*. There was a diſtance of ſome ſeventy years between them: but that was nothing to *Jeffrey*: he writ (I dare ſay) what might be true for ought he knew.

Baſſianus died in *Meſopotamia*, in the year 217. *Carauſius* uſurped in *Britain*, in the year 286.

But, true or falſe, it fitted the turn of *John* of *Fordon*; who, it ſeems, wanted matter for that part of his *Scoti-Chronicon*: and to help his Invention, he took the hint from our *Jeffrey*; who ſeem'd to offer it to his hand, by engaging his Countrymen the *Picts* in that War with *Severus*. Then for congruity, he joyns the *Scots* with the *Picts*, and heads them with a noble *Britain Fulgentius* (that ſeem'd to be a more gentile name than *Fulgenius*) whom he makes Duke or Conſul of the *Albanian Britains*. Other *Scotiſh* Writers follow him in this: but *Buchanan* would not ſwallow that Gudgeon

Uſſer. de Prim. p. 615, 616.

of a *British* Consul, and he knew the *Roman* Writers too well to contradict them so palpably in the story of *Severus* his death. But *Dempster* is unsufferable; who not content to make use of our *Jeffrey's Fulgenius*, as others do; spirits him away from us, and faces us down that he was not an *Englishman* (whoever said he was) but a *Scot*. And withal he makes him a *Christian*, and tells us what Books he writ, and laments that they are not Extant, as if he were in earnest in all this. But whereas our *Jeffrey* makes the Emperour *Bassianus* be kill'd by *Carausius*, (wherein I believe he is followed by all the *Scottish* Historians, tho at present I cannot come at some of their Books;) *John Major* takes lower; he only says a *Roman* General of that name, was overcome, and kill'd by *Carausius* and the *Scots*. *Buchanan* makes him the *Roman* Lieutenant in *Britain*, and says only that the *Scots* and *Picts* Leagued with *Carausius* against him. But who told him that there was a *Bassianus* Lieutenant of *Britain*, or that there

Joh. Major de geſt. *Scot.* l. 15.

Buchan. rer. Scot. in XXXIV Regc.

there was a man of that name Living here in *Carauſius*'s time? Sure he could not have this from any of the *Roman* Hiſtorians: None ever ſaid it before our *Jeffrey*. And is he now ſuch an Author that *Buchanan* ſhould think fit to ſay any thing after him? Yes ſo far as to take *Jeffrey's* Seedlings, and graft upon them. This he and his Authors do familiarly, as I could ſhew by very many Inſtances; They ſeem to have thought they had cauſe to be angry with him, when he left them wholely to invent for themſelves.

See a notable Inſtance in this Book. p. 151, 152.

But that which I chiefly inſiſt on, is this, that the now extant *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians give a quite different account of the Originals, both of their Nation and Religion, from that which was given by their Anceſtors; and which was Nationally owned by them in their publick Inſtruments and Writings.

That they differ from their own Anceſtors.

The preſent Nation of the *Scots*, ſo far as they differ in extraction from the *Engliſh*, are chiefly compoſed of the *Picts*, and *Iriſh Scots*,

Concerning their Original. See Chap. I.

Scots, as I ſhall afterwards ſhew.

Of the *Picts*, they are very different accounts, that were given by *Adamnanus* a *Scotiſh* Writer that lived about the year of Chriſt 700. and that were given 700 years after his Time by the Monk of *Fordon* and his Followers. This the Reader may ſee more largely, if he pleaſe, for his own ſatisfaction, in the moſt learned Primate *Uſher*'s Book of the beginnings of the *Britiſh* Churches.

Uſſer. de Prim. p. 1018. 1019.

Of the *Scots* Original, there was *no certain Hiſtory* (as *Nennius* ſaith) in his Time, which was about the year 850. But the beſt account he could get, was that which I have taken out of him, and inſerted in the following Book. There was nothing ſaid then, nor for many Ages after, by any Writer that I know, concerning *Fergus* the Son of *Ferchard*; and that long Succeſſion of Kings, which are now in all the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians. And after this Succeſſion from *Fergus* was publiſhed by *Hector Boethius*, it ſeems it was not then believed by the learned men of his own Nation.

Nennius in capi. ulis, c. 8.

Chap. 1. ſect. 5. p. 10.

Nennius c. 9. and from him *H. Huntingdon.* hiſt. p. 172. 12.

For

For *Polidore Virgil* tells us, that when *Hector*'s Book was newly come forth; *Gawen Duglas*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, warned him of it, and earneſtly prayed him not to follow that Hiſtory in writing of the *Scottiſh* matters. And that Biſhop gave him another account of their Original; which, in ſum, was the ſame that was given ſo many Ages before to our *Nennius*, as was before mentioned. His account is certainly no truer than the other, but it is plain that there is a great difference between them. *Pol. Virg. Angl. hiſt. l. 3. p. 50.*

For the time of their firſt coming into *Britain*, it may be worth noting, that the ancient *Culdee* of St. *Andrews*, whoſe Book Biſhop *Uſher* had in Manuſcript, ſays that all *Britain* had received the Chriſtian Religion before the *Picts* and *Scots* entred into this Iſland. This, tho it could not be true, yet it ſeems was then the currant Tradidition. But now ſince the Monk of *Fordon's* Time (howſoever he came to diſcover it,) all their Writers are agreed that they came hither long before Chriſt's Incarnation. Concerning their Planting. *Uſſer. de Prim. p. 579.* See Chap. I, 5. p. 10.

For

For the *Scots*, they can tell how long before, to a year; by a very good token, that it was at the time when *Alexander* the Great took *Babylon*.

Buchan. rer. Scot. in Rege I.

Concerning the *Picts* it is now the moſt received Tradition that they came hither a good while after the *Scots*. This is directly contrary to the Opinion which was in *Bede*'s Time: For he ſaith, that this Iſland was *Firſt* planted with *Britains*, who poſſeſs'd themſelves of the greateſt part of it; and that *next* the *Picts* came and ſeated themſelves North of the *Britains*; and after both theſe, *in proceſs of Time*, the *Scots* come *into the* Picts *part of this Iſland*, to be *a third Nation*. I ſhall not detain the Reader here to ſhew how much of this is true. That will be done in its place, in the following Book. But it muſt be confeſſed that *Bede* lived while the *Picts* were a Nation apart from the *Scots*; and no doubt he knew from them of both thoſe Nations in his Age what Tradition they had then of their own Originals. If his be not a better Authority

Vide *David Camrar.* de *Scotorum* Fort. p 5 & 207.

Bede Hiſt. l. 1. p. 23, 24.

Chap I.

rity than any that they have to the contrary, yet at leaſt it ſufficeth to my purpoſe; to ſhew that their Tradition in *Bede*'s Time was very different from that which is now in the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians.

Concerning their Converſion.

Of the *Picts* and *Scots* firſt Converſions to the Chriſtian Religion, the Reader will find in this Book ſuch an account as hath been left us by them which lived in or near the Times of their reſpective Converſions. But thoſe ancienteſt Writings were little known, and leſs conſidered, by them that lived in and after *Veremund's* Age. I name him in this place, becauſe *Hector Boethius* not only pretends to follow him as their moſt ancient Hiſtorian, but alſo mentions him particularly as his Author in this matter. But if there was ſuch a man as he is ſaid to have been, and if he writ ſuch a Hiſtory as he is pretended to have written, and if he had that account of their Converſion which is quoted from him, (all which things I may well be allowed to doubt, till I ſee better proof of them,) it is ſtrange that not the leaſt

leaſt notice ſhould be taken, of this Man, or his Hiſtory, or this account of the *Scots* Converſion, by any Writer now extant, of all them that lived before the Monk of *Fordon's* Time, (whom I ſtill take to be *Hector's* true Author for almoſt every thing, that is not purely his own, or our Countryman *Jeffrey's* in his account of the *Scotiſh* Antiquities.) But as the account that was given by this Monk hath been followed by all their Hiſtorians that have written ſince his Time; ſo they that lived in the next Age before him gave quite another account of their Converſion. I ſhall prove ſufficiently in this Book that neither of them is true; But at preſent I am only to ſhew that there is no Agreement between them.

They that lived an Age or two before *John* of *Fordon*, had a Tradition of a wonderful Victory obtained by their King *Hungus* againſt the *Saxons* by means of the Reliques of St. *Andrew* the Apoſtle; which were then by divine Revelation brought out of *Greece* into *Scotland*:

and

and that thereupon the *Scots* first received the Faith of Christ. This was so much believed to be a true account of their first receiving the Christian Religion; that the *Scots* of that Age owned it publickly in their Apology against King *Edward* the First, which they gave in to Pope *Boniface* VIII. about the year of Christ 1300. And they made that Pope believe it; or else he did not deal fairly with that King, in alledging this way of their Conversion by a Brother of St. *Peter's*, as a reason why the Kingdom of *Scotland* should belong to him that was St. *Peter's* Successor, and not to the King of *England*, who then pretended another right to it.

Apologia, &c.

Vide *Usser.* de Prim. p. 646.

Bonifac. VIII. Bull.

Ibid. p. 647.

Now this Victory over the *Saxons*, to which the *Scots* of that Age did relate in this account of their Conversion, is said by all the late *Scotish* Writers, to have been obtained by *Hungus* King of the *Picts* about the year of Christ 800. This year 800. was, (by the way,) more than 200 years After the Conversion of the *Saxons*. But they that

Vide *Usser.* de Prim. p. 657. & 714, 15.

that dated their Converſion from the time of this Victory could not think it was ſo late: for they ſay, it was 400 years Before the Converſion of the *Saxons*. It is no matter what they thought that were ſo groſly ignorant of all ancient Hiſtory. If there were any truth in the matter of Fact, as concerning that Victory, it muſt have been After the Time when thoſe Reliques are ſaid to have been firſt diſcovered, which was pretty late in the fourth Century, And then indeed, thoſe Reliques are ſaid to have been received, by an *Urguſt* King of the *Picts*, whom I believe the Monk of *Fordon* placed there for that purpoſe. But then, the *Saxons* were not yet come over into *Britain*; where they muſt have been for ſome Time, before the *Scots* could have occaſion for a Victory over them.

Ibid. p. 647.

Ibid. p. 657.

And yet to make the matter more difficult, the *Saxons* were not in this Iſland, 400 years, nor 200. before their Converſion. So that the Pope was certainly misinformed, and the *Scots* were

were much more out in their Story.

Therefore, to mend the matter, their late Writers have taken it in pieces, and ſet it up quite another way.

Firſt, they are willing to believe their Countrymen had ſuch a Victory over the *Saxons*: And they pitch upon King *Athelſtan* for the man that ſuffered in it; from whoſe death they ſay the place was called *Athelſtan-Ford*. But it falls out unhappily, that the *Saxons* had no King of that name, but one, that was not born at the Time that they ſet for that Victory. Therefore *Buchanan* thinks, it ſhould have been rather over the *Danes*, than the *Saxons*. He ſhould have ſaid, that perhaps all this was but Fiction: for he could judge of it no otherwiſe, according to his own Rules before-mentioned. *Buchan. rer. Scot. l. 5. LXV. Rege.*

Secondly, for the means by which this Victory ſhould have have been obtained, which was ſaid at firſt to have been by the Reliques of St. *Andrew*, being brought over then out of *Greece*: Now they ſay, *Uſſer. de Prim. p. 657. & 715.*

those Reliques were brought long before; But the Victory was obtained by a Vision of St. *Andrew*, and by his Cross seen in the air, which ever since hath been the Badge of that Nation. Here is some alteration, as the Reader may see, in these particulars.

But this is nothing to that which they have made in the Consequence of it; Namely, that hereupon they were converted to the Faith. Whosoever had considered that these were *Picts*, and not *Scots*, must needs have seen the absurdity of this. For from *Bede*, who was then in every ones Hands, it was evident that the *Picts* were converted long before King *Athelstans* Time: The South-*Picts* about the year 412, the North-*Picts* about the year 560, as I shall have occasion to shew. But in these publick Instruments which I have mentioned, it is said, that the *Scots*, not the *Picts*, owed to St. *Andrew's* Reliques, not his Vision, for this Victory, and for their Conversion together.

Chap. II. §. 2. & 6.

It was certainly false, that the *Scots* of that Age were concerned in that Converſion, or Victory, if any thing of this Story had been true. And this their late Writers ſeem to have underſtood well enough. For they have thrown aſide all that part on which the Pope grounded his pretenſion, as if their Forefathers had deviſed it only to ſerve a turn. And now they ſtick to nothing but only the Date of their Converſion. Whereas their Anceſtors ſaid, that the *Scots* were converted 400 years before the *Saxons*; ſo they ſay ſtill: But the *Saxons* were converted about the year 600, therefore the *Scots* Converſion muſt be about the year 200.

And indeed they hit upon a fit Time, for then *Victor* was Pope; whoſe next Predeceſſor, *Eleutherius*, as then it was generally believed, had ſent them that Converted the *Britains*. Why might it not as well be believed that Pope *Victor* did as much for the *Scots*? No doubt it might, if there were any good Author for it. And why

not? Doth not Archdeacon *Veremund's* name ſound as well as Venerable *Bede's?* Might One's Authority paſs for a King *Lucius*, and not the Other as well for a King *Donald*? Why might not One remember things 1000 years before he was born, as well as the Other 500? No doubt ſo far they were in the right: and whoſoever compares them will ſee, that one of theſe Stories was a Pattern to the other. What our Hiſtorians made *Eleutherius* do for our *Lucius*, the ſame doth *Hector Boethius* make Pope *Victor* do for *Donald*.

But if this had been thought of in Pope *Boniface's* Time, it might have entitled him to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, much better than that other abandoned account of their Converſion. For tho it was a wrong way to ground a Temporal right upon one's being the Author of ſuch a Spiritual benefit: yet the Pope might judge it a good way, if he pleaſed; and who could contradict him in that dark ſuperſtitious Age? But then it would be expected that he ſhould ſhew how this right came

to

to him or his See in particular. And for this, it was indeed a miſerable ſetch to claim under St. *Peter*'s Brother, as he did; tho the King was ſo civil to him as to take no notice of it in his Anſwer. But to have claimed under his own Predeceſſor, Pope *Victor*, would have made his Title ſo clear to any one that had but granted his ſuppoſition, that it is hard to think why he ſhould uſe any other pretenſion. He would certainly have uſed no other, if he had not been Ignorant of this. And if he was ignorant of it, we may be ſure the *Scottiſh* Nation were ſo too. For *they informed him* of this, as well as all other matters in his Bull. It appears they told him that which was their currant Tradition: and knew nothing of that which had been more for his turn. King *Donald*'s converſion was not known then, which is the thing I was to prove.

Mat. weſtmon. p. 419. lin. ult.

I think it is ſufficiently proved, by all thoſe ways before-mentioned, that the *Scottiſh* Hiſtorians are not to be Credited in what they write, of thoſe matters and times which

are to be considered in the following Book. But if, after all that hath been said, they must still be good Authors; and their word must be taken for things in which they have no Author but themselves: I shall only desire, that they which have this esteem for them, would be pleased not to argue from their Authority; and especially, not in matters of Religion. Whosoever will not grant me this request, must give me leave to believe, that either he is not in good earnest, or he does not know what he says, when he writes himself **a hater of false history.**

THE

THE CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

OF the first Christian Inhabitants of these Islands Page 1

§. 1. *Of* Britain *in the times of the Roman Empire* p. 2

2. *All South of* Graham's dike *was held by the* Roman-Britains p. 3

3. *All North of it by the* Picts, *who were divided into* North *and* South Picts p. 5

4. Ireland *was Peopled by the* Scots, *and was the only* Scotland *in those times* p. 7

5. *There were no* Scots *in* Britain *before the year* 300. p. 10

6. *Afterward they made Incursions, but setled not here till after the decay of the* Roman *Empire* p. 14

7. *Then the* Saxons *Conquered all the best of* Britain, *and called it* England p. 24

8. *Afterwards, part of the* Scots *ſeated themſelves among the* Picts p.28
9. *Firſt, about the year* 500. *they erected the Kingdom of* Argile p.32
10. *They entred that Country, and held it a long time peaceably* p.36
11. *About the year* 850. *they conquered all that was North of* Graham's-dike p.40
12. *After the year* 900 *they got the reſt of that Country* p.43
13. *And then it came to be called* Scotland p.46

CHAP. II.

OF the Converſion of theſe Nations Page 48
§. 1. *The* Britans *were Chriſtians under the* Roman *Empire* p.48
2. *In the year* 412 *the* South-Picts *were converted by a* Britan p.50
3. *In the year* 432 *the* Scots *in* Ireland *were Converted by* Britans p.50
4. *Not by* Palladius, *who died the year that he was ſent thither* p.51
5. *But*

5. *But by* Patrick, *who was born in the* Roman *part of* Britain p.60
6. *In the year* 560 *the* North-Picts *were converted by* Scots *out of* Ireland p.62
7. *Before this laſt Converſion the* Romans *had loſt* Britain p.64
8. *The* Roman *Church uſurp'd Authority over other Churches* p.65
9. *And impoſed new terms of Communion* p.66
10. *Which cauſed a Schiſm between the Churches* p.68

CHAP. III.

OF *the ancient Church-Government in* Britain p.71
§. 1. *That in* Britain *there were ſuch Biſhops as were in all other parts of the* Roman *Empire* p.71
2. *There were of the* Britiſh *Clergy, ſome of each Order, at the Council of* Arles, *in the year* 314. p.72
3. *Where Canons paſs'd concerning Church Government* p.73
4. *The like Canons paſs'd afterwards in the* Nicen *Council, which Council was received by the* Britiſh *Biſhops* p.75

5. *And*

5. *And ſo was the judgment of the Council of* Sardica *in the caſe of* Athanaſius p.76
6. *There were divers* Britiſh *Biſhops at the Council of* Ariminum p.77
7. *The continuance of the ſame Church-Government in* Britain p.77
8. *Proved out of* Gildas p.78
9. *And out of* Bede p.79
10. *Even in the time of the Schiſm, the* Romans *had nothing to ſay againſt their Ordination* p.80

CHAP. IV.

OF the ancient Government in other Churches of theſe Iſlands p.82.
§. 1. *Among the* South-Picts *it was the ſame that was in* Britain p.82
2. *The like was in* Ireland *among the* Scots p.84
Whether brought in by Palladius. Ibid.
3. *Or rather by St.* Patrick p.85

4. *These* Scots *for some Ages were called Schismaticks by the* Roman *Church* p.93
5. *Yet held Communion with the* Britains p.94
6. *And even then the* Romans *had nothing to say against their Ordination* p.95

Chap. V.

Of Church-Government among the Scots *and* North-Picts *in* Scotland; *and among those whom they converted in* England p.98
§. 1. *That* Columba, *tho no Bishop himself, was for proper Episcopacy* p.98
2. *He acknowledged that Bishops were superiour to Presbyters* p.101
3. *He had a Bishop to ordain in his Monastery* p.102
4. *There was* Aidan *Episcopally ordained* p.103
5. *And was properly Bishop of the* North-Humbrians p.104
6. *So was* Finan *after him* p.107
7. *And then* Colman p.109

8. *And after him* Tuda, *who was the laſt of* Scotiſh *Ordination* p.110
9. Eata *was of* Roman *Ordination, and yet Succeſſor of all thoſe before going* p.111

CHAP. VI.

THat all the other Biſhops ordain'd by the Scots *were proper Biſhops* p.113
§. 1. *Such was* Diuma, *whom* Finan *ordained Biſhop of* Mercia p.113
2, *And ſuch was his Succeſſor* Ceollah p.115
3. *And* Tromhere, *firſt* Presbyter, *and then* Biſhop p.115
4. *Such was* Cedd, *who is ſaid to have been* ordained by the Scots p.116
5. *His Scotiſh Ordination was by* Finan *before mentioned, who ordained him Biſhop of the* East-Saxons p.117
6. *A doubt raiſed upon the* Romans *not approving of* Scotiſh *Ordinations* p.120

7. *Answered, that it was not because they were performed by* Presbyters p.122
8. *It might have been for want of a Canonical number of Bishops to ordain* p.123
9. *But, in truth, it was because the* Romans *then held the* Scotish *Bishops to be Schismaticks; and that, because they were not subject to the Pope* p.126
10. *This proved from an Author then living* p.128
11. *The Conclusion* p.131

CHAP. VII.

A *Confutation of that late Fable of a Church-Government in* Scotland *by a sort of Monks called* Culdees p.133
§. 1. *The Objection proposed* p.134
2. *And answered* p.135
3. *No mention of* Culdees *till after the year* 800. p.138
4. *No Author for this Fable till long after* p.145

The Contents.

5. *No Monks in those times when they are said to have Governed* p.152
6. *Of the ancientest Monks in these Islands* p.158
7. *Of their Monasteries* p.160
8. *And of their Exemption from Bishops* p.163
9. *That yet they had none but Episcopal Ordinations* p.164
10. *An Explication of* Bede's *words, that seem to have given occasion to this Fable* p.172

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Of the Primitive Church-Government IN GREAT BRITAIN AND *IRELAND.*

The general Design of this Book.

BEING to give Account of the Primitive Church-Government in the Islands of Great *Britain* and *Ireland*, I think it will be necessary to proceed in this order: *First*, to shew [a] how these Countreys were Peopled in those times, when the Christian Religion was planted here: *Secondly*, [b] how the several Nations that dwelled in these Islands received the Christian Faith;

[a] Chap. I.

[b] Chap. II.

Chap. I. §. 1. and *Thirdly*, [c] how the Churches were governed in theſe Nations, before they came under the yoke of the Papacy. *Laſtly*, having ſhewn that they were governed by ſuch Biſhops as are now among us; I [d] ſhall anſwer thoſe Objections that are brought on the contrary, by them that pretend to ſhew that there was anciently another way of Church-Government in ſome parts of theſe Iſlands.

[c] Ch. III. IV. V.

[d] Chap. VI.

CHAP. I.

§ 1. FIrſt, I am to ſhew how this Iſland of *Britain* was planted at the time when it received the Chriſtian Religion.

All the South part of the Iſland, which we now call *England* and *Wales*, was then Peopled by the Civilized *Britains*; who, having been Conquered by the Roman Emperors, lived under ſuch Governors and Garriſons, as were ſent hither from *Rome*, by the Conquerors and their Succeſſors.

The North part of the Iſland, which

which is now called *Scotland*, (*e* a name which was not uſed in that ſence in many Ages after the time of which we ſpeak,) was Peopled partly by the *Britains* before mentioned, and partly by the *Picts*, who *f* ſeem to have been a ruder ſort of *Britains*, *ff* that would never yield to the *Romans*, but ſtill kept up their ancient manners and Liberty.

e v. § 4.

f v. *Camdeni* Brit. *de Pictis* p. 83.
ff v. § 3.

§2. The Frontier of the *Roman Britains* againſt the *Picts* was firſt placed between the two *Friths* of *Bodotria* and *Glotta*, that are now called of *Edenborough* and *Dunbritton*. There *Agricola* in *Veſpaſian*'s time made his Forts, and put Garriſons in them, to ſhut the *Picts*, as it were, *into another Iſland*, as his Son in Law *g* *Tacitus* expreſſes it.

g *Taciti vita Agricolæ* c. 23.

And though by the evil Government of the Emperor *Domitian* that Frontier was loſt, So that the Emperor *Adrian* was fain to make a new one betweeen *Tine* and *Solway Frith*, yet the former was recovered by *Lollius Urbicus* Lieutenant to his Succeſſor *Antoninus Pius*, who *h* built there a wall of Turf to ſecure

h *Capitolini Ant. Pius* inter Hiſt. Aug. Scriptores. p. 19. A.

Chap. I. § 2.

cure it againſt the *Picts*, as *i* appears by divers of his Inſcriptions which have been dig'd up in that place. When afterwards it was loſt again, and *Severus* the Emperor had built his wall of Stone upon *Adrians* Frontier; yet the former was recovered again by the *Romans*, and there *k Carauſius* built a wall of Stone, as we are told by the *l Britiſh* Hiſtorian. This boundary ſeems to have held till the firſt *Valentinians* time: then being broken through again, it was repaired by his General *Theodoſius*; who *m reduced* all that Land between the two Frontiers into *its former Eſtate*, and obtain'd that it might be a diſtinct Province, called *Valentia*, from the name of the Emperor. Thus it continued till the decay of the *Roman* Empire: But then * upon the freſh incurſions of *Picts* and *Scots* into the Civilized Countrey, the works were new made, and *n* firſt a Rampire of earth was built there, and then *o* a wall of Stone, with ſeveral Caſtles or Forts to defend it; the Ruins whereof *p* are yet to be ſeen, and *q* are called by the

i v. *Camdeni* Brit. p. 699.

k Aur. Victor de Cæſaribus p 154.
l Nennius c. 9.

m Ammian Marcell. l. 28. p. 369. 15, *&c.*

* § 6. and 7.

n Gildas de excid. *Brit.* p. 1006.
o Gild. ib. p. 1007.
p Atlas Scot. p 4. and in Maps after p. 9, 75, & 95.
q Atlas. Ib. p. 41. & 82.

the name of *Grahams Dike*, or *Gramys Dike*, or *Grimes Dike*.

The *Roman* part of *Britain* was *r* firſt made a Præſidial Province by *Agricola* before-mentioned. Afterward *ſ* by *Severus* it was divided into two Provinces, called *Superior* and *Inferior*. Laſtly, *t* by *Conſtantine* the Great it was divided into Four; to wit, *Britannia prima*, *Britannia ſecunda*, *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*; to which, *u* a fifth was added by *Theodoſius*, namely that *Valentia* which I have mentioned. But whether the Provinces were one or more, the *Roman* part of the Iſland was ſtill under one Governor, ſent by the Emperor: which Governor was at firſt *w* called his Proprætor, or Lieutenant till *Conſtantines* time; and then, the diviſion of the Empire being much changed, the Government of this Iſland *x* was by a Vicar or Deputy under the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gaule*, as appears in the *Notitia* of the *Empire*.

r *Camden.* Brit. p. 43.

ſ *Herodian.* hiſt l. 3. p. 526. 4. & *Dion* l. 55. p. 214. 9. & 14.

t *Uſſer.* pr. p. 96 ex S. *Ruſi* brev. in Galliarum diviſione.

u *Ammian* l. 28 p. 369. 19.

w *Camden.* Brit. p. 44. *&c.*

x *Zoſim.* hiſt. l. 2. p. 688. 23.

§ 3. The *Picts*, who had the reſt of this Iſland of *Britain*, inhabited in the North part of *Scot-*

Chap. I. §. 3.

land, which from *Grahams-Dike* before mentioned, extended as far as the North Ocean. They were anciently called γ *Caledones*, or *Caledonians*, that is (perhaps) *Cilyddion, Borderers* in the Britiſh tongue; and were ζ not of a different language from the *Britans*, nor were called by any other name that we read of, till about 300 years after Chriſt. Then we find them α firſt called *Picts*, becauſe β they ſtill continued the old *Britiſh* uſe of Painting their bodies: and yet they that lived next the *Roman* Frontier were γ ſtill called *Caledones*, that is, Borderers; and were by that name diſtinguiſht from *the other Picts*. Who thoſe other *Picts* were, we learn from *Ammian*, that writ about Fourſcore years after. For δ he tells us, there were *two Nations* of the *Picts*, which δ were called *Dicaledones*, and *Vecturiones*, perhaps ε *Deucilyddion* and *Chwithwrion*; that is in Britiſh, the *Southern Caledones*, or *Borderers*, and the *Northern-men*: no doubt the fame that were afterwards called the *South* and *North* Picts, which (as *a Bede* ſaith)

γ *Taciti* vita *Agricolæ* c. 25. *&c.*

ζ v. *Camdeni* Brit. p. 83.

α *Eumenii* Paneg. ad *Conſtantium* p. 258 v. *uſſer.* prim. p. 586.

β *Claudian.* de III Conſ. *Honorii* ver. 54. calls them *--nec falſo nomine* Pictos. & v. *Claud.* de bello Getico verſe 4 8.

γ Paneg. ad Conſtantinum p 235. *Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum ſylvas & paludes.*

δ *Ammian.* l. 27. p. 346. l 30.

ε *Deu* and *Chwith*, *right* and *left*, were anciently uſed for *South* and *North* v. *uſſer.* prim. p. 80. and 1021.

a Bed. hiſt. III. 4. p. 168.

ſaith) *were ſeparated from each other by a ledge of high and ſteep Mountains* that lay between them. Theſe Mountains, I ſuppoſe, *b* were the ſame that were called *mons Grampius* by the ancients, and *c* are now called *Gransben-hills*: among which hills *d* the Countrey is called *Braid-Albin*, that is high *Albion*; and *e* the higheſt of them is called *Drum-Albin*, that is, the back or ridge of *Albion* or *Britain*, which I mention as being perhaps the only remains of that moſt ancient name of this Iſland.

b Atlas *Scot.* p. 76.
c Ib.
d Ib. p. 113.
e Ib.

§ 4. *Ireland* the mean while was inhabited by the *Scots*, and from them was called *Scotland* by the writers that lived in thoſe times. The *f* firſt writer that mentioneth the name of *Scots*, is *Porphyry*, in a Book which ſeems to have been written about the year of Chriſt Three hundred; for there (as it is quoted in *g* Saint *Jerom*,) he calleth *Britain a Province fruitful of Tyrants*, referring chiefly no doubt to *h* thoſe that ſet up then againſt *Diocletian*: and there he ſpeaks of the *Scotiſh* Nations apart, as not living

f uſſer. de primord. p. 586. 728.
g Hieron. epiſt. ad *Cteſiph.* Tom. ii. p. 259.
h Caraufius, Alectus, Aſclepiodotus.

in *Britain* at that time. But that their dwelling then was in *Ireland* is affirmed by *i Oroſius* in his Hiſtory which was written in the year 417. his words are, *Ireland* is inhabited by the Nations of the *Scots*. With which agrees that of *k Claudian*, who wrote about twenty year before, that *the* Scots *roſe all over* Ireland, *and made the Sea fome with their Oars*; and again *l* that Ireland *wept over the heaps of* Scots that were ſlain. So *m Proſper*, within twenty years after *Oroſius*, calls that in which the *Scots* lived, *the Barbarous Iſland*, in Contradiſtinction to *Britain* which he calleth *the Roman Iſland*. Therefore *Ireland* is called *Scotia* by the writers of thoſe times; particularly by him that calleth himſelf *n Hegeſippus*, who *o* was either St. *Ambroſe*, or a writer of that Age. So *p Iſidor*, about the year 620. ſaith, Scotia *is the ſame with* Hibernia. *q Gildas*, who writ in the year 564. calls the ſame People, ſometimes *Scoti*, and ſometimes *Hiberni*. *r Cogitoſus* ſaith of *Kildare* in *Ireland*, that it was *the ſafeſt place in all the land*

i Oroſ. hiſt. l. 2. in *Europa*.

k Claudian. de Pr. Conſ. *Stilich.* l. 2. v. 251. *totam cum Scotus* Iernen *Movit, & infeſto ſpumavit, remige Tethys.*

l Claudian. de iv. Conſ. *Hon.* ver. 33. *Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis* Ierne.

m Proſper. cont. Collat. c. 41. ſpeaking of Pope *Celeſtin, Ordinato Scotis Epiſcopo, dum* Romanam *inſulam ſtudet ſervare Catholicam, fecit etiam* Barbaram *Chriſtianam.*

n Hegeſipp. de bell. Judaic. V. 15.

o Gronov. Monobibl.

p Iſidor Originum xiv. 6. p. 193. B. *Scotia eadem & Hibernia.*

q Gild. de exc. idio Brit. l. 1. p. 1006, 1007.

r Cogitoſi vita *Brigidæ.* c. 14.

land of the Scots. So *f Adamnanus*, about the year 680. calleth it *the Ile of* Scotland; and *t* ſaith of *Columba*, that *he ſailed out of* Scotland *into* Britain. So *u Bede* in his Hiſtory, which was writ about Fifty years after, ſaith of the *Scots*, that *their Countrey* is *Ireland*, and ſometimes calls it *the Ile of* Scotland, and hath the words *Scotland* and *Ireland* uſed promiſcuouſly for the ſame in *w* ſeveral places: and King *Alfred x* in his *Saxon* Tranſlation of *Oroſius*, at the paſſage which I have mentioned, hath theſe words, Ibernia *that we call* Scotland: and in his Tranſlation of *Bede* he calls it *y* ſometimes *Hibernia-Scotland*, and *z* ſometimes *Hibernia the Scots Iſland*. Not to burthen the Reader with more quotations, I ſhall refer him to the moſt learned Biſhop *Uſher*; who *a* at large proves this uſe of the word, and *b* thus concludes: *I do not believe that there is any writer, that lived within a Thouſand years after Chriſt, that once mentioneth the name of* Scotland, *and doth not mean* Ireland *by it.* How after that time the name of

f Adamn. vita Col. I. 12. *inſula Scotia.*

t Ib. I. 1. *de Scotia ad Britanniam enavigavit.* So *Epit. Bedæ* An. 565.

u Bed. hiſt. II. 5. p. 118.

w Ib. II. 4. and iv. 26. p. 345.

x Uſſer. prim. p. 731.

y Bed. hiſt. II. 5. p. 120.

z Ib. III. 7. p 177. and iv. 26. p. 345.

a Uſſer. primord. p. 725, *&c.*

b Ib. p. 734. ſpeaking of the eleventh Century, he ſaith *neminem qui toto antecedentium annorum ſpatio ſcripſerit, produci poſſe arbitramur, qui* Scotiæ *appellatione* Albaniam *unquam deſignaverit.*

Chap. I. § 5.

of *Scotland* came to be uſed, as now it is, for the Northern part of *Britain*, will be ſeen at the end of this Chapter.

§ 5. But firſt I am to ſhew the great change that has been made in the Peopling of this Iſland, and that eſpecially in thoſe times before the whole Iſland was Chriſtian. The only difficulty in this matter will be, to find at what time the *Scots* came firſt to ſettle in *Britain*. Our *a* Nennius ſaith, *the moſt skilful men among the* Scots *told him*, that the founder of their Nation, a *Scythian* that married *Scotta* King *Pharaohs* Daughter, was he that brought them firſt into *Ireland*; and that *they came to the Countreys of* Dalried at the time when *Brutus* was Conſul of the *Romans*. But the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians within theſe 300 years tell us another Tale; that they came firſt into *Britain* *b* at the time when *Alexander* the Great took *Babylon*, *c* that is, 330 years before the coming of Chriſt. Theſe fictions no man can pretend any ground for in ancient Hiſtory. But that the *Scots* dwelt in this Iſland at leaſt

a *Nennius*. c. 9.

b *Buchan*. rer. Scot. fo. 34. 14.

c *Hect*. *Boeth*. Scot. hiſt. l. 1. fol. 7. lin. 8.

leaſt in the time of *Julius Cæſar*, this *Buchanan* maintains againſt *Humphrey Lhuyd, an excellent Poet againſt an excellent Antiquary*, as *d Cambden* well judgeth between them. I leave the Reader to him for an account of their Authorities: Only one, that is the chief, I ought to take notice of, *e* becauſe it proves that the *Scots* did not dwell here in *Cæſars* time; and yet from the ſame place *Buchanan* proves they did, by conſtruing it falſe, for which *Cambden* ought to have given him Correction. The words themſelves I have put in the Margent; wherein *f Buchanan* ſaith that *Soli Britanni* is not the Nominative caſe, but the Genitive; and ſo he conſtrues it thus, that before *Cæſars* coming hither the *Britains* fought againſt the *Scots* and *Picts of the Britiſh Soil*, that is, *who then dwelt in the Britiſh Soil*, as he explains it. If this be ſo, the words are clear of his ſide. But being conſtrued true, they are as plainly againſt him. For this is it that the Orator drives at; comparing the Victory of *Conſtantius* over *Carauſius* in *Britain*,

d Camd. Brit. p. 89. in *Scoti.*

e Paneg. Maximiano A. p. 258. *ad hoc natio etiam tunc rudis, & Soli Britanni, Pictis modo & Hibernis aſſueta hoſtibus adhuc ſeminudis, facile Romanis armis ſigniſque ceſſerunt.*

f Buchan. rer. Scot. fol. 25. lin. 3.

Chap. I. § 5.

Britain, with that which *Cæsar* formerly gain'd over the *Britains*, he would shew that this of *Constantius* was the greater Action of the two: for (saith he) *Cæsar* had several advantages which *Constantius* had not; *moreover*, *the Nation* (that *Cæsar* overcame) *being yet rude*, unskilful of War, *and only Britains*, a Nation *used to no other Enemies but* Picts *and* Irish *who were yet half naked, easily yielded to the* Roman *Arms and Ensigns*; but he whom *Constantius* overcame, *having got a Roman Legion* of his side, *having stopt some squadrons of Auxiliaries, having mustered the Gauls that were here on account of Merchandise, having drawn in to his assistance no small forces of the Barbarous Nations, and having all these exercised and train'd*, it was no such easie thing to get the Victory over him: I think it plain by this comparison that *Soli Britanni* is not Genitive but Nominative: and if so, then the *Irish* here spoken of are not said to dwell in *British* Soil, as *Buchanan* would have it. Indeed, to help the matter, he would have

have them called *Scots*, becauſe it ſounds pretty well that the *Scots* lived in *Britain*; but the *Iriſh*? where ſhould they dwell but in *Ireland*? It is ſcarce ſenſe to ſay *the Iriſh of the Britiſh Soil*: *Buchanan* was wiſe, the word *Scots* was more agreeable to his purpoſe. But as *Cambden* obſerveth, the Panegyriſt is ſo far from ſaying the *Scots* were then in *Britain*, that he doth not ſay that yet they were come into *Ireland*: he only ſaith, there were *Iriſh* then in the world, and that they and the *Picts* were Enemies to the *Britans*. And yet even That he did not ſpeak like an Hiſtorian, ſaith **Cambden*; but as Orators uſe to ſpeak of old things at the rate of their own times. But beſides, admit they were *Scots* that he ſpoke of, he does not ſay They lived in *Britain*, though the *Picts* did: he only ſaith, that both theſe Nations were enemies to the *Britans*; the *Picts* indeed living in the ſame Continent made incurſions upon them by land which was an Act of Hoſtility, the *Iriſh* who lived in another Iſland came in their

* *Camd.* Brit. in Scoti. p. 89.

Chap. I. § 6.

α *Curroghs* and robbed them by Sea which was no leſs an Act of hoſtility. If the Author had ſaid *SCOTI & Picti*, this had proved nothing; only it had not made againſt *Buchanans* opinion; as moſt evidently it doth when the Author ſaith *HIBERNI & Picti*: he would have called them Scots rather than Iriſh, if he had thought of any other than *Ireland* for their Countrey.

α *uſſ.* de prim. p. 606.

§ 6. But when did they firſt come hither into *Britain*? It is a Queſtion upon which much depends, and therefore I will endeavour to leave nothing unſaid that can be ſaid to it out of the ancient Writers.

β *Bed.* hiſt. l. 1. p. 23, 24.

Bede β ſaith they came over firſt under one *Reuda*, and ſettled themſelves in that part of *Britain* which from him is called (*Dalried*, that is,) the portion of *Reuda*. But did not that Countrey rather take its name from * *Dalried* in *Ireland*, now called γ *Routh*, from whence the Scots came to plant themſelves in *Britain*? There is nothing more common than this way of carrying the

* v. § 8.

γ *uſſ.* de prim p. 711, & 1029.

the names of places and Countreys along with the Colonies they ſend forth. And it ſeems very probable that this *Reuda* (whom † late Romancers call *Reuther*) might be that Ri *Eda*, or King *Eda*,* the firſt K. of *Dalried* in *Ireland*, who left his name to that Countrey, from whence it came over into *Britain* in after times. For *Bede* doth not bring any Author for that which he ſaith of *Reuda*'s bringing the *Scots* into *Britain*; and therefore I ſuppoſe he might take it up, as ♣ he profeſſes he did what he ſaith of the firſt planting of the Britains and Picts in that Chapter, by hearſay and no otherwiſe. And whereas for what he ſaith of any action out of Books, he commonly expreſſes the time when it hapned; here he hath no time for the coming of *Reuda* into *Britain*. Therefore Archbiſhop *Uſher*, admitting it to be true, and yet finding nothing of the perſon elſewhere, has made a gueſs at the time of his coming hither, from what is ſaid of the Scots firſt coming into *Britain*. He finds in the life of *St. Patrick*, that when

† *Hect. Boeth.* Scot. hiſt. l. 2. fol. 20. lin. 45.
* *Uſſer.* prim. p. 6. l. v. § 8, 9.
♣ *Bed.* lb. p. 23. *ut fertur — ut perhibent.* —

Neil

Chap. I. §. 6. *Neil* was King of *Ireland*, (which was about the end of the Reign of *Conſtantius* the Son of *Conſtantine*) then the Scots *began* to infeſt the Northern Coaſt of *Britain*. He finds in *Gyraldus Cambrenſis*, that in the time of that *Neil* before mentioned, there came ſix Sons of one *Mured* out of *Ulſter*, and planted themſelves in the Northern parts of *Britain*: *Here it is to be conſidered*, *e* ſaith he, *whether the chief of theſe might not be* Reuda; elſewhere *f* he ſaith, *it ſeems* that it was he.

e uſſ. prim. p. 587.

f Ib. p. 1086.

About that time indeed we find the Scots being in *Britain* firſt mentioned by any of the Roman Hiſtorians: but they ſpeak of them not as coming then to plant here, but only as coming to help the Picts in their incurſions, (which they made together as often as the Romans gave them any opportunity.) It was about the year 360. that, as *g Ammian* ſaith, they and the Picts fell into *h ſuch places next the* Roman *frontier as they had agreed upon among themſelves*, and there they haras'd the Countrey of

g Ammian. Marcell. l. 20. beginning.

h Ib. *Condicta loca limitibus vicina.*

of the Britans. Thus it ſeems they did for ſome years, till the Countrey was even begger'd *i by the Conſpiracy of thoſe Barbarous Nations*, and then *Theodoſius* was ſent againſt them: *who tamed the* Picts, as *k* the *Panegyriſt* ſaith, and *hunted the* Scots *over the Sea*; So that, as he ſayes elſewhere, *l* ſpeaking of the ſame action, Ireland *lamented the heaps of the* Scots *that were ſlain.*

i Ammian. l. 27. p. 346. 21.

k Claudian. in III. *Conſul. Honorii* ver. 55. *Pictos Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone ſecutus Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.*

l claud. in IV. *Conſ. Honorii* verſ. 33. *Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis* Ierne.

Soon after his return thoſe two Nations joyn'd together again, and made another incurſion, as *m Proſper* tells us; but then *Maximus*, who commanded here in *Britain*, being made Emperor by the *Roman* Army, overcame them; and, *n* as the *Scottiſh* Hiſtorians tell us, the *Picts* join'd with him, but the *Scots* he chaſed quite out of *Britain.*

m Proſper. Tyronis Chron. A. 4 *Theodoſii.*

n Buchan. rer. Scot. fol. 44. lin. 7.

This *Maximus* afterward, in purſuance of his hopes of the Empire, gathered all the Forces he could raiſe here in *Britain*, and carried them over into *France*, from whence very few of them did ever return. This was the fatal thing to which

Chap. I. §. 6.

Gildas aſcribes the deſtruction of his Countrey. For, *o* ſaith he, *from that time forward* Britain *being deprived of all its armed men, its military Forces, its Commanders* ſuch as they were, *and a vaſt number of men for ſervice, which going away with that Tyrant never returned home any more, and being wholly to ſeek what ſhould be done in time of War, came firſt to be trampled by two tranſmarine Nations fiercely cruel, the* Scots *from the Weſt, and the* Picts *from the North, under whom it is aſtoniſht and groans for many years.* Where *Gildas* calleth them *Tranſmarine Nations, Beda, p* uſing the ſame expreſſion after him, explains it by ſaying, we do not mean they *lived out of* Britain, but that they were *ſeparated from the* Britans by the two *Friths* of *Edenburgh* and *Dunbritton.* This was true in *Bedes* time, that not only the *Picts*, but a Nation of the *Scots* lived in *Britain.* They had done ſo for ſome Ages, and they might have lived there from *Reudas* time, for ought * he knew. But as *Bede* takes *Gildas* aright in what he ſayes

o Gildas de excid. *Brit.* p. 1066.

p Bed. hiſt. l. 12. p. 52.

* § 6. p. 14.

ſayes concerning the *Picts*; ſo *Gildas* explains himſelf better concerning the *Scots*, by ſaying, in this place, that they came *from the Weſt* of *Britain*: and afterwards, at their return, *q* he ſaith, *the* Iriſh *returned home*. Where ſhould their *home* be, but in *Ireland*?

q Gildas Ib. p. 1008.

From thence it was, that after *Maximus* his death, they came again to ſhare with the *Picts* in their uſual prey. *Claudian*, who lived at the time of this invaſion, thus expreſſeth it in the place beforementioned; *r when the* Scots *roſe all over* Ireland, *and the Sea foam'd with hoſtile Oars*. This Incurſion lay ſo hard upon the *Britans*, that being not able to bear it, they were fain to ſend to *Rome* for aſſiſtance. They had little reaſon to expect it from thence, having been in Rebellion ever ſince *Maximus* his time. But yet upon their Submiſſion they had a Legion ſent them, and that by *Stilicho*, as *ſ Claudian* tells us. Which Legion *t* drove out the Enemy with a great ſlaughter, and particularly chaſed the *Scots* out of *Britain*, as we are told by *u* their

r Claud. in pr. Conſ. *Stilic.* l. 2. verſ. 251. *---totam cum Scotus* Iernon *Movit, & infeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys.*

ſ Claud. Ib. *Munivit* Stilicho

t Gildas Ib. p. 1006.

u Mariani Scoti Chron. Anno 447.

Chap. I. § 6.

ancienteſt Hiſtorian. To make this a laſting benefit they caus'd the people, who then had *no Ruler*, *w* ſaith *Gildas*, to build a Wall of Turf *acroſs the Iſland between the two Seas*. It is not to be doubted that they built it *x* between the two *Friths*, in the place where it formerly ſtood before the Incurſion. The Guards upon this Wall were called their *y prætenturæ*, whence the Legion was ſaid to be *z prætenta Britannis*. This Legion being called away *a* to help the Emperor *Honorius* againſt the *Goths*, went from hence in great Triumph, as *b Gildas* ſaith, reckoning that they had left the *Britains* ſecured againſt the barbarous Nations.

w Gildas Ib.

x Bed. hiſt. l. 12. p. 53. *Buchan.* rer. Scot. l. 5. p. 46. l. 88.

y Ammian. hiſt. l. 28. p. 369. 16.

z Claudian. de bell. Get. verſ. 416.

a Claudian. Ib.

b Gild. Ib.

But as ſoon as they were gone, the former Enemies came in again *with Sails and Oars*, ſaith *c* our Author; that is, the *Scots* came again out of *Ireland*, as I underſtand him from *d Marianus Scotus*, who mentioneth only the *Scots* in this ſecond Invaſion after the death of *Maximus* the Uſurper. *They broke the Frontier*, ſaith *e Gildas*, and deſtroyed all that came in their way. The *Britans*

c Gildas Ib. ſo *Bed.* hiſt. l. 12. p. 53. *advecti navibus.*

d Mar. Scot. Chron. Ib. *Scoti advecti navibus.*

e Gildas Ib.

Britans being utterly unable to defend themſelves, ſent again to beg help of the *Romans*. They ſent them a Legion, as before; who, coming unexpectedly on their Enemies, made a great ſlaughter of them, and *f drove all that could eſcape over the Seas*, who before that *uſed yearly to carry away their prey over the Seas without reſiſtance*: this again *g Marianus* applieth to the *Scots*, as being alone in this Action.

f Gildas Ib. p. 1007. and Bed. Ib. p. 53.

g Mar. Scot. Ib. *Romani recurrunt, & Scotos fugant.*

The *Romans* having thus reſcued the *Britains*, declared to them that they could not often endure the Fatigue of ſuch Journeys; nor did they think it worth the while to employ the *Roman* Enſigns againſt ſuch *h poor pilfering Robbers*: they would have them take the courage to defend themſelves againſt Nations that were not ſtronger than they, if it were not for their Lazineſs and Cowardiſe. And that they might the more eaſily do this, they not only furniſht them with Arms, and taught them the art of *War*, but they took care to fortifie their Countrey againſt any Invaſion: particularly,

h Gildas Ib. *imbelles errabundosque latrunculos.*

Chap. I. §. 6.

in ſtead of their Wall of Turff before mentioned, they made another of ſtone, which [i] *they built in a ſtraight line from Sea to Sea between the Cities which had been placed there before for fear of the Enemies*; that is, between [k] *Guidi* near *Edenborough*, and *Alcluith* which is now call'd *Dunbritton*. This I obſerve, to ſhew that ſtill the ſame * bounds were continued between the *Picts* and the *Britains*; Beſide, on the ſhore of the Ocean toward the South ſide [of *Dunbritton* Frith] where their Ships lay, becauſe the Barbarian wild Beaſts were feared to come that way, they placed Towers at ſet diſtances within view of the Sea; and having done this, they took leave, as being never to return more. But [l] *no ſooner were they gone, but there came by Sholes out of the Curroughs in which they were carried over the* Scythian *Vale, ... grim Troops of* Scots *and* Picts, *partly different in manners, but alike eager for Blood, and that had more ſhaggy hair to cover their faces, than they had Cloths over the ſecret parts of their Bodies*

[i] *Gild.* Ib. *tramite a mari uſque ad mare inter urbes directo--librant Bed.* hiſt. l. 12. p. 54.

[k] *Bed.* Ib. p. 52.

* § 2.

[l] *Gild.* Ib. & *Bed.* Ib.

Bodies. These upon the assurance they had that the *Romans* were gone, and would not return, being now more bold than ever, *m took possession of all the North and outmost part of the Land instead of the Natives as far as the Wall before mentioned.* And the Guards, that were placed there on the Towers, making no resistance, they from below with long hooks pluckt them down, and dasht them against the ground. Thus the wall being cleared, and the Cities forsaken, the Enemy had the Countrey open to them; and made such slaughter and spoil there, that the Countrey seemed like to a Wilderness. The *Britans* that escap'd sent over to *Ætius* the *Roman* General for help, but none came. The mean while through the spoil that had been made, there came to be a Famine in the Land, which made them desperate. Then they fought for themselves; and those that skulkt in the Mountains and Caves and thick Woods being joyn'd with them, they drove the Enemy out of the Countrey. *Those impudent*

m Gild. & Rt.

Chap. I.

§ 7.

Robbers, the Iriſh, *went home,* n ſaith *Gildas, not to return a long while after: the* Picts, *in the utmoſt parts of the Iſle, reſted then firſt, and ſo they did for the future; only making inrodes and ſpoil between whiles.* This turn of things is placed by *Gildas* and *Bede*, in the year when *Ætius* was in his third Conſulſhip; that is, in the year of our Lord 446. Which is a ſufficient proof, that as yet, the *Scots* did not inhabit in this Iſland: nor did the *Picts* in any place on this ſide of the wall before mentioned, nor it ſeems very near it. Thus much is plainly expreſt in thoſe words, that the *Scots* (here called IRISH) *returned home*; that is, went out of the Iſle: the *Picts* ſtaid *in the Iſle*, but it was in the utmoſt pars of it, beyond the *Britans* in the * former Quotation; and there, though they had not been at reſt for many Ages, yet now they reſted, ſay our Authors; it was indeed the firſt time that they reſted, and though they Rob'd between whiles, yet they made no invaſion for the future.

n *Gilda*, Ib. p. 108. *Revertuntur ergo impudentes graſſatores* HIBERNI *Domum, (non longo poſt tempore reverſuri.) Picti, in extrema parte Inſulæ, tunc primum & deinceps, requieverunt;* [*prædas & contritiones nonnunquam facientes*] Bed. hiſt. l. 14. p. 5. hath all the ſame words, except thoſe within the hooks; where he ſaith of the Scots [*poſt non longum tempus reverſuri,*] and of the Picts, [*prædas tamen nonnunquam exinde & contritiones de Britonum gente agere non ceſſaverunt.*]

* p. 23.

§ 7. How the ſtate of things in this

this Iſland was changed afterward, *a Gildas* proceeds to ſhew in the Hiſtorical part of his work. He ſaith, that the *Britans* being rid of their Enemies, ſoon after the famine ceaſt; and there came ſuch a plenty in the ſtead, that the like was never known in any Age. But this fulneſs made them forget God, and fall deeper into thoſe ſins from which he would have reclaimed them by his puniſhments. A people that profited ſo little by his rod, God might forthwith have given up as incorrigible: but yet he was pleaſed to try them once more. There went a flying rumor among the people, that their old Enemies were coming again, with a full reſolution to deſtroy them, and to inhabit their Countrey. This every one believed, though there was no ground for it. But (as *b Solomon* ſaith) *one of a ſervile diſpoſition is not to be mended with words, yea a fool is ſcourged and doth not feel it.* There was ſuch a plague among them, that killed more than the living could bury; and yet they were altogether inſenſible. They

a Gild. Ib. P. 1008.

b Prov. 29. 19.

Chap. I. § 7. They did as good as say with those in the Prophet, *c let us eat and drink for to morrow we dye.* Being thus ripe for destruction, God was pleased to let them bring it upon themselves by a strange Infatuation. They were in fear of two Nations, that were always too weak for them, and that had found themselves so in their * last invasion, and were therefore the less likely to trouble them again; besides that a great part of those Nations was lately turned Christian. But howsoever, to secure themselves against them, they took a worse enemy into their Bosom. The *Saxons* that lived upon the next *German* shore, were a warlike people, that always kept the *Romans* upon their Guard, and had some times attaqued them in this Island; they were also Enemies of the Christian Religion. yet of these, they brought over some Troops, *d* about the year of Christ 450. and gave them the Isle of *Tanet* for an habitation. It was a Quarter too far from those parts which they were to defend; but it lay convenient

c Esai. 22. 13.

*§ 6. p. 23.

d *Bed.* hist. l. 15. p. 57. Epit. *Bede.* Ann. 409. It should be 449. So the *Saxon* Chron.

nient enough for them to bring in more Company; which they did, till they had made themſelves too ſtrong for the *Britans*. And then they made them ſee their folly, when there was no remedy. Upon a made quarrel, for want of Pay and Proviſions, they made War upon them in a moſt Barbarous manner, (which *Gildas* as Tragically deſcribes,) and having ſlaughtered a great part of them, drove the reſt out of the beſt of their Countrey. But firſt, as *e Bede* ſaith, they had driven back the *Picts*, and afterward made a league with them: which doth not ſeem very probable, becauſe there is nothing of it in *Gildas*. Sure enough they did not give them any ſhare of their Conqueſt. For as the two *Friths* divided the *Picts* *anciently from the *Britans*, ſo they did afterward from them and the *Saxons*. We find that their bounds were the ſame when *Bede* writ his Hiſtory, which was *f* in the year 731. For *g* then, he tells us, *Edenborough Frith* lay between the *Saxons* and the *Picts*; and *h* he ſaith that at the

e Bed. hiſt. I. 15. p. 58, 59.

* § 2.

f Bed. hiſt. V. 24. p. 485.
g Ib. IV. 27. p. 346.
h Ib. I. 1. p. 24.

Chap. I. §. 8.

the other *Frith* the *Britans* yet held the ſtrong City *Alcluith*, which from them was called *Dunbritton*, that is, the hill of the *Britans*.

§ 8. It was not long after the *Saxons* came over, that the *Scots*, who upon that repulſe *before mentioned were gone *home* (that is into *Ireland*) as *i* *Gildas* tells us, returned into *Britain*. This return was, to ſettle themſelves in the Countrey; for there *Gildas* leaves them; So that no doubt they were there in his age. And therefore the time of their coming to ſettle in *Britain*, was, between the year 450. when the *Saxons* came hither, and the year 564. when *Gildas* wrote.

* § 7. p. 24.

i *Gild.* Ib. p. 10:8.

To find the preciſe time of their coming, we muſt not look for any help from the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians that have written within theſe 300. years. For they generally take it for granted, *k* (as I have ſhown) that their coming into this Iſland was long before Chriſts Incarnation: and upon this preſumption they frame a long ſeries of ſtory, for which they have no ground in any ancient Writer now extant.

k § 5.

But

But that before that time there was a different tradition among themſelves; it appears by thoſe Rithmes which are quoted by Archbiſhop *Uſher* out of the *Scoti-chronicon*: wherein it is ſaid that *the Scots firſt coming into Argile* was in the year 439. It is not improbable that their firſt coming to ſettle there might be in that year, by agreement with the *Picts* to ſhare *Britain* between them, upon the Information they had that it was abandoned by the *Romans*. But before they had been long in poſſeſſion, they found their meaſures would not hold, and therefore they returned *Home* into *Ireland*, ſome years after the year 439. as *m* I have ſhewn from our ancienteſt Writers. That their ſetling here was after that time, we have ſome reaſon to judge from their Converſion to the Chriſtian Religion; which, according to all the ancients, was before their coming into *Britain*. For, except thoſe Legendary writers, which *n* (as I have ſhewn elſewhere) aſcribe it to them that brought the reliques of St. *Andrew*, there

l Uſſer. prim. p. 1023. *Bis bis centeno, quator & deca, ſed minus uno Anno quo ſumſit primos Argadia Scotos, ut referunt iſti, fuit Incarnatio Chriſti.*

m § 7.

n v. Preface.

Chap. I. § 8. there is none but makes St. *Patrick* the Apoſtle of the *Scotiſh Nation*. But what he did for their Converſion was in *Ireland*; and that before the time of their coming hither, if we may believe what we are told *o* in his Life. For there it is ſaid, that upon the death of a King of *Dalried*, *Fergus*, the youngeſt of his Sons, being like to have no ſhare of his Eſtate, came and made his complaint to St. *Patrick*: who, not only got him conſidered in the diſtribution, but prophetically told him, *as mean as thou ſeemſt to be now among thy Brethren, thou ſhalt ſhortly be the chief man among them; and out of thee ſhall come Kings that ſhall rule, not only in their own, but in a remote and foreign Countrey.* It was not long after, ſaith the Author, that this *Fergus* came to be King of *Dalried*, and his ſeed reigned there after him for many Generations. This King, as *p* Biſhop *Uſher* obſerveth, was that *Fergus* the Son of *Erc*, who firſt planted the *Scots* in this Iſland. The late *q* *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians, that make them to have been ancient Inha-

o Jocelini vita S. Patr. c. 137.

p Uſſer. prim. p. 610.

q Hect. Boeth. Scot. hiſt. l. 6. fol. 114. l. 56. & f. 120. l. 10.

Inhabitants, and ſay they were driven out by * *Maximus* that kill'd their King *Eugenius* in battel, will have them reſtored by this *Fergus*, who (they ſay) was Grandchild to King *Eugenius*, about the year 422. that is, as they account, in the 44th or 45th year after their diſſeizin. Enough hath been ſaid, in this and *r* the former Sections, to refute that pretence of an ancient poſſeſſion. But that *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* was the *firſt* of his race that reigned in *Scotland*, is proved by *ſ* Biſhop *Uſher* from an elder *Scotiſh* Writer that lived about 500 years ſince; with whom agree the ancient *Iriſh* Genealogies, as he tells us. And that the beginning of his reign in this Iſland was much later than the year that *Hector* mentioneth; namely, that it was *in the time of* Pope *Symmachus*, which began in the year 498. and that it was 20 *years after* the battle of *Oche*, which was fought in the year 483. So that his Kingdom in *Britain* was erected in the year 503. this *t* the ſame great Antiquary proves out of the old *Iriſh* Writers, which herein agree

* §. 6. p. 17.

r § 5. 6, 7.

ſ Uſſer. prim. p. 610.

t Uſſer. prim. p. 1028, 1029, and 1122.

Chap. I. § 8. agree perfectly well among themſelves, and are very conſiſtent with all the other Teſtimonies above mentioned.

§ 9. Being thus aſſured of the time when the *Scots* were firſt ſeated in *Britain*; it may be next worth our enquiry to know, 1. What Countreys they were poſſeſt of at firſt, and 2. How afterwards they enlarged their quarters, till 3. at laſt they gave the name to ſo great a part of the Iſland.

I. Where the *Scots* firſt planted in *Britain*. If we had no account of the place, we ſhould look for it ſomewhere near their own Countrey. And there is a part of *Britain* ſo near it, that *u* the Sea is not above 16 mile over between the two Iſlands. The next part of *Ireland* is that *Routh* * before mentioned; which was anciently called *Dalrieda*, i. e. *w the part* or portion of *Ri Eda*, or King *Eda*, if there were any ſuch perſon. But we are told by *x* Biſhop *Uſher*, from the old *Iriſh* Genealogiſts, that there was ſuch a perſon, Son of *Chonar* King of *Ireland*; and that his Father

u Hect. Boeth. Scot. deſcr. fol. 8. lin. 10.

* § 6. p. 14.

w Buchan. rer. Scot. l. 4. fol. 35. l. 34.

x Uſſer. de pri. p. 611.

ther gave him the Dominion of this Countrey, which descended from him to *Fergus* being one of his Linage. That from hence *Fergus* brought his *Scots* into *Britain*, we are told by *y* Bishop *Usher*, from old *Irish* Annals that were written *z* before the year 1100. these are the words, *Fergus Môr Mac Erc, with the Nation of Dalried, held part of* Britain, *and there dyed.* Whereas these *Scots* are there called *the Nation of* Dalried, it seems to me to interpret those words of *Bede*, where he saith of them in *Britain, they are called* Dalreudini *to this day:* it seems they brought over their name with them, and gave it to their Countrey in *Britain*, from which *Bede*, by † mistake, thought that they had received it. But that here, as well as in *Ireland*, their Country had the name of *Dalried*, we find in the quotation of * *Nennius* before mentioned: and we find in the Lord *Burleigh*'s Manuscript, which *Cambden* often quotes as a very ancient piece, that it was called *b the Kingdom of* Dalried; which I

y Usser. Ib. p. 610. from *Tigernack*'s Annals.

z Ware de Script. Hib. l. 1. p. 51.

a Bed. hist. l. 1. p. 24.

† § 6. p. 10.

* § 5, p. 10.

b Camd. Brit. p. 706.

Chap. I. §. 9.

take to be the ſame, that is, called *the Kingdom of* Argile *c* elſewhere in the ſame Manuſcript. That this was their Seat, it farther appears, from the bounds that are given to their Countrey in *Britain*; both in the time of King *Fergus*, and afterwards, for ſome Hundreds of years. For *d Cambden* tells us from his Manuſcript, that the bounds of King *Ferguſe*'s Kingdom were *from* Brun-Albain *to the Sea of* Ireland, *and the* Hebrides: and we find in *e Adamnanus*, that beyond *Drum-Albain* was the Kingdom of the North-*Picts*; and *f* that the River *Neſs* was within the bounds of their Kingdom: and in a work of his which is not publiſhed *g* he ſaith, that the Mountains of *Drum-Albain* were between the *Scots* and the *Picts*. Which being compared with what hath been ſaid before, that * in *Bede*'s time thoſe Mountains divided the North-*Picts* from the South-*Picts*; and again that *h* in his time the *Scots* dwelt Northward of *Dunbritton-Frith*, by which they were ſeparated from the *Britans*, who then lived South of the *Frith*,

c Camd. Ib. p. 682. in div. Scotiæ.

d Camd. Brit. p. 707.

e Adamn. vita Columbæ II. 27.

f Adamn. Ib. II. 12.

g uſſer. de prim. p. 1022.

* §3. p. 6, 7. from *Bed.* hiſt. III. 4. p. 168.

h Bed. hiſt. I. 1. p. 24.

Frith, and who had the City of *Dunbritton* in their poſſeſſion: theſe things taken together make it plain that the Kingdom of *Argile*, or *Dalried*, which was all that the *Scots* had in *Britain*, was divided Northward by *Loquhaber*-hills from the North-*Picts*, Weſtward by *Lomond*-hills from the South-*Picts*, Southward by *Dunbritton-Frith* from the *Britains*, and Weſtward it was bounded with the *Iriſh*-Sea. So that, as *i* Biſhop *Uſher* well gathers, it contain'd all thoſe Countreys that are now called *Cantire*, *Knapdale*, *Lorn*, *Argile*, and *Braid-Albain*, with *the neighbouring Iſles*. What he ſaith of *the Iſles*, muſt not be extended too far: for *k Bede* ſaith the Iſle of *Hy*, which was one of the neareſt to *Dalried*, belong'd to the North-*Picts*; and *l* was by their King *Bridius* given to *Columba* for his Monaſtery. But that all the reſt that he mentioneth belong'd to the *Scots*, I am confirmed, by that firſt diviſion of *Scotland* that *m Cambden* gives us out of his Manuſcript, which is only of the Kingdom of the *Picts*, containing all be-

i Uſſer. de prim. p. 612.

k Bed. hiſt. III. 3. p. 167.

l Bed. hiſt. III. 4. p. 169.

m Camd. Brit p. 682.

Chap. I. § 9. yond the two *Friths*, except those five Countreys. And by what followeth there, in the second division, where the Kingdom of *Argile* is added by it self, it appears that this was all that the *Scots* had in *Britain*, till their Conquest of the *Picts*, which we are next to consider.

§ 10. I do not know that any ancient Writer hath mentioned the occasion of the *Scots* coming to live in this Island. But I find that which may afford us some ground for a probable conjecture at the reason of their coming. For *a* we are told, that when the *Saxons* had begun with the *Britans*, and had made some progress in conquering the Southern parts of the Island, there came out of *Germany* a fresh party of them, in forty Keels (which was then a very great Fleet) *b* over *Edenborough-Frith*, and *possest themselves of divers Countreys in this Island, c as far as the Confines of the* Picts; that is, as I understand him, they Conquered those parts from the *Forth* to the *Tine*, which were afterwards called the Kingdom

a Nennii c. 36. Cambridge *MS.* c. 38.

b Ib. *trans mare Fresicum*, thus interpreted in *Camd.* Brit. p. 688.

c Nenn. Ib. *usque ad confinia Pictorum.*

dom of *Bernicia*; and there began the Dominion of the *Northumbrian* Saxons. This could not but give the *Picts* a very great apprehenſion of danger: and there was little hope of aſſiſtance from the *Britans*, from whom the *Saxons* had conquered thoſe Countreys. Therefore, I conjecture, they invited over that Colony of the *Scots*, being a people with whom they had been in League for many Ages, and had then received ſo many proofs of their Courage and Friendſhip. I the rather believe this, becauſe I do not find in ancient Writers that there was any breach between the two Nations, as there muſt have been if the *Scots* had come by force into their Countrey. And yet, the *Saxons* being wiſer than to make too many Enemies at once, it doth not appear that theſe *Scots* had any occaſion to ſhew their valour, till King *Ædan*'s time. Then *d* in the year 603. (which I reckon to have been juſt a hundred years after their coming into *Britain*,) that Prince, having a jealouſie of *Æthelfrid* King of the

d Bed. hiſt. l. 34. p. 103.

Chap. I. §. 10.

Northumbrian *Saxons* growing too great for him, began a War; which was soon determined in one Battle, with the loss of his whole Army. And *from that time* (saith *e Bede*, who writ above 120 years after) *there hath not been any King of the* Scots *that hath ventured to come into* Britain *to fight against the Nation of the English* Saxons *to this day*. To make this the more remarkable, saith *f Bede*, toward the end of his History, *the* Scots *that dwell in* Britain *are content with their own quarters, and do not carry on Plots or Designs against the Nation of the* English. Others, *g* that lived eight or nine hundred years later, have told us of great Wars and Victories that they had within that space of time. But I should rather believe *Bede*, who lived then, and had spent all his time in their neighbourhood.

e Bed. lb. p. 105.

Bed. hist. l. 24. p. 484.

g Hect. Boeth. rer. Scot. fol. 176. 24, and 184, 50. and 185, 20. *Buchan.* hist. Scot. fol. 54. 80. and 55. 88, and 56. 1.

It seems the *Scots* were *content with their quarters* for near so much longer time after *Bede* had done writing. For in a hundred years more we find no change in the peopling of this Island, save what the

Saxons

Saxons made in going on with their Conqueſt upon the *Britains*. They had in *h Bede*'s time driven them out of the Country of *Galloway*; and taken from them *Candida Caſa*, or *Whithern*, which was their Epiſcopal See, and fill'd it with *Saxon* Biſhops, (of whom our moſt learned *i Uſher* hath gathered a Succeſſion till after the year 800.) After *Bede*'s death, in the year 750. they drove the *Britains* out of *Kyle*, and the other Countreys thereabout; and *added them to the Kingdom of* Northumbria, as *k* we are told by a Writer of that age. And *l* about ſix years after they took the City of *Alcluid*, or *Dunbritton*; which perfected their Conqueſt of the Weſtern-*Lowlands*, as they are now called. There yet remained another part of thoſe that were called *m* the *Stratclul-weatas*, that is as I gueſs, the *n Cluilsdale-Welſh*, rather than *the painted* Britans, as *Whelock* rendreth it. Theſe ſeem to have had their chief ſeat at *Glaſco*, from whence their Countrey extended to the South, toward *Cumbria*, which was another petty Kingdom

h Bed. hiſt. III. 4. p. 169.

i Uſſer. de pri. p. 666.

k Epit. *Bedæ* Continuat. Ann. 750.

l Sim. Dunelm. hiſt. Reg. *Angl.* p. 105. 24. *Hoveden.* hiſt. p. 231. 26.

m Sax. Chron Ann. 875. and 924. Compare *Aſſer.* vita *Alfr.* p. 8. 40. and *Flor. Wigorn.* Ann. 875.

n Strath was a dale by a River; as, *Strath-Ern*, *Strath Navern*, &c.

Chap. I. § 11.

of the *Britans*; and that reached as far as the Croſs upon *Stanmore* in *Weſtmorland*. How they ſped afterward, it ſhall be ſhown in due time: but at preſent, they ſeem to have eſcaped by the diſſencions that were among their Enemies; which diſſencions afterward roſe to that height, that in the year 794. *o Ethelred* King of the *Northumbrians* was killed by his own People, their Biſhops fled out of the Countrey, and the whole frame of their Government was diſſolved: So that *p for three and thirty years they were a Prey and a Sport to all their neighbours*, and they could never unite themſelves more into one Body or Nation.

o *Flor. wigorn.* Ann. 794.

p *Gul. Malm.* hiſt Reg. Ang. l. 3. p. 1. 54.

The mean while, about the year of Chriſt 800. The *Danes* began to make their inrodes into theſe Iſlands. Whereſoever they came at firſt, being Heathens, they fill'd all places with blood, and left nothing but deſolation behind them. But afterward they turn'd Chriſtians, and then they contented themſelves with the ſpoils and ſervitude of thoſe Nations which they overcame,

came. Thus they were coming and going for more than 200 years: in which time all the Nations of theſe Iſlands had their turns to receive the Cup of God's wrath out of their hands. None taſted of it more favourably than the *Picts*; and yet, if it be true which *q John* of *Fordon* tells us, it was through their means that the *Picts* became a Conquered people. He ſaith, that while they endeavoured to guard their Coaſts againſt thoſe cruel Barbarians, and loſt a great part of their Military men in that Service, it ſo diſtracted and weakned them, that they were not able to defend themſelves, but became an eaſie prey to a much weaker Enemy. *Alpin* the Son of *Achaius* King of the *Scots* (as *r* their Hiſtorians tell us) being next heir by his Mother, who was ſiſter, to *Hungus* late King of the *Picts*, had been ſlain in aſſerting his Title to that Kingdom againſt one *Brudus* that held it from him by Uſurpation. His Son and Succeſſor *Kennedy* went on with the quarrel: and (as *ſ Fordon* ſaith) *paſt over the Mountains that*

were

q uſſer. de prim. p. 716. ex Scotichronico.

r Buchan. rer. Scot. fol. 56. & 57.

ſ uſſer Ib. ex Scotichron.

were in their Confines, namely *Drum-Albin*, while the *Picts* were in that weakneſs and diſtraction. Having that advantage againſt them, *he killed many of the* Picts, *and put the reſt to flight*, and ſo *gain'd the Monarchy of both the Kingdoms*. This was about the year 850. that is, near 120 years after *Bede*'s time: ſo that till then the *Scots* were ſtill *content with their quarters*; and *Fordon* ſheweth it, in that they were got no farther than *Drum-Albin* at that time.

But we have better than his Authority to prove this, or elſe I ſhould not be very confident of it. He quotes an ancient *t* verſe, that ſaith, this *Kennedy* was the firſt that reigned in *Albania*, meaning, I ſuppoſe, on the North and Eaſt ſides of *Drum-Albin*. For ſo, in the old Manuſcript quoted by *u Cambden*, it is ſaid, that *the Kings of the ſeed of* Fergus *reigned in* Drum-Albin *till* Alpin, who was the laſt King that went no farther. And it is ſaid *w* in the ſame Manuſcript, that Kennedy *held the Kingdom of* Dalried *two years, before he came into the*

t uſſer. de prim. p. 714. *Primus in* Albania *fertur regnaſſe* Kenedus.

u Camd. Brit. p. 707.

w Camd. Brit. 706.

the Picts *Countrey*. But I ſhewed that *Dalried* extended no farther than from *Drum-Albin* to *Dunbritton-Frith* and the *Iriſh* Sea; and here we ſee that the *Scots* had ſtill the ſame bounds, till upon this new Conqueſt the *Picts* were incorporated with them into one Nation.

§ 12. Now the *Scots* had all the North part of this Iſland beyond *Grames-dike*; that is, they had all that was contain'd in *x* the *ſecond* diviſion of *Scotland*; and yet * their Kingdom was not called *Scotland* in any writing that is extant, of that age. Before it came to that, it had (as I am now to ſhew) all the other parts added to it that are known by that name. Firſt, the *Saxons* Kingdom of *Northumbria* being * broken in pieces, *y* it is ſaid that all that part of it which we call the Weſtern *Lowlands*, being ſo far ſever'd from the reſt that it could have no help out of *England*, was either ſeized by the *Iriſh*, or put it ſelf under their protection: From whom *Whithern* the Biſhops See, and the Country about it, were called by the name of *Galloway*,

x *Camd.* Brit. * p. 682. * § 4. p. 9.

* p. 40.

y *Camd.* Brit. p. 692. *uſſer.* Brit. Eccl. p. 667.

Chap. I. § 12.

loway, in Latin *Gallovidia* or *Gallovedia*; that is *h Gallwaith* or *Gallwade*, the *work* or the *walk* of the *Gael*, as the *Iriſh* call themſelves. But from them, being no Military people, it was no hard matter for the *Scots* to get it into their poſſeſſion, as we are certain they did after the year 850. though we have no account of the time, or any other particulars. Next, for what was left to the *Britans*, which was all comprehended under the name of *Cumbria*, we read *i* that *Edmund* King of the *Engliſh Saxons*, having Conquered it, in the year 945. gave it to *Malcolm* King of the *Scots*, on Condition that he ſhould fight for him by Land and by Sea; that is, that he ſhould help and defend the North parts of *England* againſt the *Danes*, as 'tis *k* elſewhere explain'd. And we read that after his death the next year the *Scots* did homage for it to *Edred* his Son and Succeſſor. How the County of *Cumberland* was afterward changed for that of *Huntington*, the Reader may ſee in *l Cambden*, but that doth not belong to my purpoſe. In the year

h As the *Picts*-wall was called *Scots-waith*, and the *Forth* called *Scots-wade*. *Camd.* Brit. p. 648. & 682.

i Saxon. Chro. *Flor. Wigorn.*

k Hen. Huntington. p. 203. 9.

l Camd. Brit. p. 370.

year 960. *Edenburgh* was delivered up by the *Engliſh* to *Indulph* King of the *Scots*, and hath ever ſince remain'd in their poſſeſſion, as *d Camden* tells us out of that ancient *MS.* of the diviſion of *Scotland*. Laſtly, the reſt of *Lothien* or *Lauden* was granted *e* by King *Edgar* to *Kennedy* King of the *Scots*, on condition, that he ſhould attend him at Court upon all Collar-days: I ſuppoſe the meaning was by this grant, as well as by that of *Cumbria*, to oblige the *Scots* to help and defend the North parts of *England* againſt the *Danes* of whom they were in continual danger in thoſe times. What my Author ſaith of *Lauden* in this place was meant for all the *Eaſt-Lowlands*, according to the ancient extent of the word. For the people of all that Countrey between *Twede's* mouth and *Edenborough-Frith* were called *Ladeni* by the *Romans*, ſaith *f Cambden*: who alſo ſaith, that all that Countrey was called *Lauden* by the Writers of the middle age. We have an inſtance of this laſt in *g Nennius*, who placeth *Wedale* in the Province of

d Camd. Brit. p. 689.

e Matt. Weſtmonaſt. p. 376.

f Camd. Brit. p. 685.

g Nennius c. 61. in *Camb. MS.* c. 64.

Chap. I. §. 12. of *Lauden*, and yet but six miles from *Mailros*. And that this Province was held by grant from the Kings of *England*, we find *b* acknowledged by *Alexander* King of the *Scots*, who did Homage to his Father in law *Henry* the third for this Province, but refused to do the like for his Kingdom. So likewise in Ecclesiastical things, the Bishopricks of *Glasco*, and *Candida Casa* (or *Galloway*,) which had been formerly erected by the *Britains*, and being taken from them by the *Saxons*, were now come into the hands of the *Scots*, *k* were both of them subject without contradiction to the Archbishop of *York* as their Metropolitan for many Ages: But when he, or the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, demanded the like Obedience of all the Bishops of *Scotland*, it was refused as being an encroachment upon the ancient Liberty of the *Scotish* Church.

b Matt. Paris. hist. Angl. An. 1251. p. 829. 49.

k Stubs. de *Ebar.* p. iiii. 57. & 1743. 4. & 1746. 24. *Hoveden.* hist. p. 550. & 579. & 714.

§ 13. By the addition of these Provinces the *Scots* were come to have a very considerable part of this Island. And as the *Picts* before were taken into their body, so were

were now the *Cluidsdale-Welſh*, and *Cumbrian Britains*, and the *Bernician-Saxons*, who, together with thoſe *Danes* that ſettled among them, were more in number than all the reſt. The *Saxons* had this peculiar to themſelves, that they kept their Language without any great alteration; which came in a ſhort time to be uſed by all the Southern *Scots*; becauſe it was the Language of another great Nation ſo near them upon the ſame Continent. But they and all the reſt were called by the name of *Scots*; for that was the people that had the chief ſhare in the Government, and went for all in their Treaties with Forein Nations. So that now a great People in this Iſland being called by the ſame name that thoſe were in *Ireland*, to diſtinguiſh the one People from the other, theſe being called *Scots*, thoſe in *Ireland* were called the *Iriſh Scots*, or *Iriſh* without any addition: and the Iſland where they dwelt, being ſufficiently known by the ancient name of *Ireland*, began to loſe the other name by which it had been

ealled

Chap. I. § 13. called for many Ages; and so the name of *Scotland* came in time to be appropriated to the Countrey which we call *Scotland* at this day.

CHAP. II.

Of the Conversion of these Nations to the Christian Faith.

§ 1. THe first that received the Christian Faith in this Island, were those *BRITANS* that lived under the *Roman* Empire. It is very probable that it was *k* brought hither by some of the Apostles, or at least by some other that lived soon after their times. But that does not concern our Question to enquire, how soon, or through whose hands the Christian Religion came hither. No doubt there were Christians here, and that in considerable numbers, in *l Tertullian*'s, and in *c Origen*'s days. And (which is sufficient for our purpose) we find by sure proofs that Christianity flourished here before it came to be the established Religion at *Rome*, which was in the Reign of *Constantine* the first Christian

k Euseb. demonstr. Evang. III. p. 112. D. *Theodoret.* de Cur. Gr. Affect. S. IX. Tom. IV. p. 610. B.

l Tertull. cont. Jud. c. 7. p. 212. D & 213. A.

c Origen. in Ezek. hom 4. fol. 139 E. & in Luc. hom. 6.

ſtian Emperor. Here in *Britain* it was that his Father *Conſtantius* [d] lived the later part of his Reign; which was to the great advantage of that Religion, [e] ſo much favoured by him that he would ſuffer no man to dye for it in his Dominions. Here it was [f] in the City of *York* that *Conſtantius* dyed; and that his Son *Conſtantine*, [g] with great conſent of all men for the love that they bore to his Father took upon him the Title of *Cæſar*. From hence [h] he had the main of the Army that was to defend his Title againſt *Maxentius* that ſet up an oppoſite Title at *Rome*; and it was [i] in their preſence that he firſt declared himſelf a Chriſtian; which it is not likely that he would have done ſo publickly, and in ſuch Circumſtances, if he had not been ſure that his Army was of the ſame Religion. After this time *Britain* being always under the *Roman* Emperors till the inundation of the barbarous Nations, there is no reaſon to doubt that in this, as well as in all the other *Roman* Provinces, Chriſtianity was the Eſtabliſh-

[d] *Zoſim.* hiſt. l. 2. p. 688. 23.

[e] *Euſeb.* hiſt. VIII. 13. p. 309. C. & de vita *Conſt.* M. I. 13. p. 413. C, D. *Lactant.* de mort. perſec. c. 15. *Optat.* de Schiſm. l. 1. p. 25. *Sozomen.* hiſt. I. 6. p. 407. C.

[f] *Eutrop.* hiſt. Lib. 10. & alii v. *uſſer.* de prim. p. 173.

[g] *Euſeb.* de vita Conſt. M. I. 22. p. 419. B.

[h] *Zoſim.* hiſt. l. 2. p. 676. 7.

[i] *Euſeb.* Ib. I. 37. p. 426. B. *Lactant.* de mort. perſec. c. 44.

Chap. II. ed Religion; and that it was in all points the same Christianity that was in this and all the other Provinces.

§ 2. The SOUTH-PICTS, who inhabited that part of *Scotland* which was next to the *Britains*, received the Christian Faith at their hands. *Bedak* tells us that in the year 412. St. *Nennianus* a *Britain* brought up at *Rome*, was the Author of their Conversion, and that *at his Preaching they left the error of* IDOLATRY, *and received the belief of the Truth.* There is no reason to doubt that the Religion which he planted there among the *Picts*, was the same that was Established by Law at *Rome* it self, and in the Civilized *Britain*, and in all other Provinces of the Empire.

k Bed. hist. III. 4. p. 169. Saxon. Chron. Ann. 560.

§ 3. The SCOTS, who (as I shewed before) lived then in *Ireland*, were also Converted by *Britains* that were Subjects of the *Roman* Empire. I do not say, but that some of these *Scots* might be Christians before those *Britains* came among them. For I dare not wholly reject those *l Irish* Legends, of *Kiaranus*,

Chap. I. § 6.

l Usser. de prim. p. 789. &c.

Kiaranus, *Ailbeus*, *Declanus*, & *Ibarus*, who are said to have been all of the *Irish* Nation, and to have gone and lived at *Rome* for some years, and there to have been ordained Bishops, about the year of Christ 400. and from thence to have been sent into *Ireland*, where they made Conversions, and founded the Sees of *Ossory*, *Ardmore*, *Lismore*, and *Beckerin*. But though the effect of their Labours is said to have been very considerable in some parts of *Ireland*, yet according to those Legends they came very short of Converting the body of the Nation.

§ 4. *Palladius*, to whom others ascribe their Conversion, was he that (being then a Deacon at *Rome*, as *m Prosper* tells,) in the year 429. *got Pope* Cœlestin *to send* Germanus *and* Lupus to purge *Britain* of the *Pelagian* Heresie. And the same *Prosper n* saith, in the year 431. that this *Palladius* being *ordained a Bishop by Pope* Cœlestin, *was the first* that was sent to the *Scots that believed in Christ*. Again *Prosper* saith *o* elsewhere of that Pope, having

m Prosper. Chr. Coss. *Florentio & Dionysio.* *Actione* Palladii *Diaconi*, *Papa* Cœlestinus Germanum Antissiodorensem *Episcopum vice sua mittit, & deturbatis hæreticis* Britannos *ad Catholicam fidem dirigit.*

n Prosp. Chro. Coss. *Basso & Antiocho. Ad* Scotos *in* Christum *Credentes ordinatus à Papâ* Cœlestino Palladius *primus Episcopus mittitur.*

o Prosp. cont. Collat. c. 41. *Ordinato Scotis Episcopo, dum* ROMANAM *insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam* BARBARAM *Christianam.*

Chap. II. § 4.

ordained a Bishop for the Scots, *while he endeavours to keep the* ROMAN Island *Catholick, he hath also made the* BARBAROUS Island *Christian:* where, as by the ROMAN Island he means *Britain*, which other writers likewise call by that name; so by the BARBAROUS Island oppos'd to it, he means *Ireland*, as I have * already had occasion to shew. This last passage, which bringeth both the others together, was writ in the beginning of Pope *Xystus* the Successor of that *Cæleſtin*; that is, about two years after the sending of *Palladius* on this message. And these three Quotations are much the more to be considered, because they came from one that, not only knew what he writ, for he lived in publick business at that time, but that is the fountain from whom all others have taken what they have written of this matter. What others say of *Palladius* and his Mission, I shall consider hereafter. But at present I bring these passages together, to prove these three things, which will be of very great Consequence in our business. 1. That

p Vopisc. in *Florian* p. 231. D. *Gild.* de excid. Brit. p. 1005.

* c. I. § 4.

q Gildas Ib. p. 1007. calls the *Scots Barbaricas feras.*

* c. I. §. 4.

r Beda, Ado, &c.

1. That *Palladius* was of the Britiſh Nation and Religion.

2. That he was ſent, not into *Scotland*, but into *Ireland*.

3. To theſe I ſhall add, that for making *Ireland* Chriſtian, though *Proſper* might well enough ſay that Pope *Cœleſtin* did it, yet it was not done by *Palladius*, but by another that was ſent after him.

1. For the firſt of theſe things, that *Palladius* was a *Britain*, it is that which † ſome have affirmed, & may ſeem probable from the care that he took to get this Iſland rid of Pelagianiſm. For otherwiſe, it would be hard to imagine why he, living at *Rome*, ſhould ſo far concern himſelf for a place ſo remote, and which was then almoſt as good as loſt from the Empire: Or how, being but a Deacon, he could follow this ſuit with ſuch effect as to get the Pope to engage in it; much more why he ſhould be Chronicled for it, that it was done only *at his ſuit*. His miſſion afterward into *Ireland* is ſome Confirmation of this that he was born in *Britain*; but much more that which follow-

† *Uſſer.* de prim. p. 802. and 1043.

Chap. II. §. 4. ed, If it were true, that failing in the design of his Mission he came at last to dye in this Island.

II. For the second thing, that his mission was, not into *Scotland*, but into *Ireland*; that is so plain in *Prosper*'s words, that none that lived in his age could mistake them. For, where should they look for the *Scoti*, but in *Scotia*? as I have * shewed that *Ireland* was then called? There *Prosper* placeth these *Scoti* in the BARBAROUS Island, as he calleth it, and not in the ROMAN Island, as there he calleth *Britain*.

* c. I. §. 4.

III. Thirdly whereas *Prosper* saith, that* that *barbarous Island* was made *Christian* by Pope *Celestin*; he could not probably mean that it was done while *Celestin* was living, much less that it was converted by *Palladius* whom he sent thither. For considering how short a time there was between his mission into *Ireland* and the time when *Prosper* Writ this, it cannot seem very likely that he could Convert any considerable number there within that time. But that he should go on so far in the work as to make *the Island*

* p. 52.

Iſland Chriſtian, ſeems to me to be next to Impoſſible. Eſpecially, if we take in that which hath been ſaid of *Palladius* by others of the moſt ancient Writers. For they tell us, as I am * about to ſhew, that he found the People in *Ireland* ſo averſe from the Chriſtian Religion, that he could do no good upon them, or ſo little that it was not worth mentioning; and that therefore he gave over his deſign, and intended to return back to *Rome*; but that taking his way through *Britain*, he dyed there in the Countrey of the *Picts*, or in or near their Confines: and all this within the year of his Miſſion.

* P. 57.

It was in the year 431. (as **Proſper* ſaith, who could not want information in this matter,) that *Palladius* was ordain'd, and ſent into theſe parts by Pope *Celeſtin*. The ſame *t Proſper* ſaith in his Chronicle, that Pope *Celeſtin* dyed the next year, in which we are therefore to place the beginning of Pope *Xyſtus* that was his immediate Succeſſor. And yet in *u* another Book the ſame Author ſaith, that *Celeſtin*

*P. 51.

t Proſper Chro. Ann. 432.

u Proſper contra Collat. c. 41.

Chap. II. § 4. ordaining a Bishop for the *Scots*, *made the barbarous Island Christian.* If we consider when this last book was Writ, it will appear that this Conversion that he speaks of, if it was true, was very sudden. For it was Writ (as he *w* there saith,) within *little more than Twenty years* after St. *Austin* was engaged against *the Enemies of the grace of God*; that is, within such a space of time after the year 412 or 413 as Bishop *x Usher* observes: and consequently, in the very beginning of the time of Pope *Xystus*, as *Prosper* there *y* adds, while the World was yet in Expectation what he would do against the Pelagians. But if we may believe the most ancient Writers that say any thing of *Palladius* which is not in *Prosper*, they tell us on the contrary, that there was no such sudden Conversion in *Ireland*; nay, that *Palladius* did nothing there that was considerable. For these are the words of *z Nennius*, who is the most ancient Author that I know: Having said that *Bishop* Palladius *was sent at first* (before Patrick) *by* Celestin *the Roman Bishop*

w Ib. c. 1.

x Usser de pri. p. 365.

y Prosper Ib. c. 44.

z Nennius c. 52. in *Ushers* Copy, c. 55. in *Cambr. MS. Missus est* Palladius *Episcopus* PRIMITUS *à* Celestino *Episcopo & Papa Romano ad Scotos ad Christum convertendos. Sed* PROHIBUIT *illum* Dominus.--

ſhop and Pope to Convert the Scots *to Chriſt*; He addeth, that *the Lord hindred him by certain Tempeſts, for no man can receive any thing upon Earth, unleſs it be given from Heaven above*; whereupon *that* Palladius *went from* Ireland, *and came into* Britain, *and dyed there in the land of the* Picts. In like manner ſaith *a Probus* in the life of St. *Patrick*: Palladius *had been ſent* [before him] *by Pope* Celeſtin *to Convert this Iſland*; *but God hindred him from Converting that Nation* (of the Scots;) *for* [b] *thoſe rugged and wild men would not receive his Doctrine, nor would he ſtay any long time in a land which was not his*; *but was diſpoſed to return to him that ſent him: and when, in order to this,* Palladius *had paſt the Sea, and was come to the Confines of the* Picts, *there he dyed.* In like manner [c] *Jocelin* ſaith, that *becauſe the* Iriſh *believed not his Preaching, but moſt obſtinately oppoſed him, he departed from their Countrey*; *and in his way to* Rome, *he dyed in* Britain, *near the Confines of the* Picts. More Authors might be produced to this purpoſe: but theſe

a Probus vita *Patr.* lib. 1. Col. 229.

b Ib. *immites & feri homines nolebant.*

c Jocelin. vita *Patricii* c. 25. *Hibernis vero prædicationi non credentibus, ſed obſtinatiſſime oppugnantibus, à regione illorum diſceſſit.*

Chap. II. §. 4.

these are enough, to shew that he could do no great matters in *Ireland*, and therefore whatsoever Pope *Celestin* did there, he must do it by other hands.

To bring us yet nearer to an end of this matter, we are assured that Pope *Celestins* death was within a year, or little more, of the time when he sent *Palladius* on his mission. For, as * *Prosper* tells us, his mission was in the year 431. So *d* he and others assure us that *Celestin* dyed the next year. And his death was on the sixt day of *April*, as we are told in the Pontifical. But it will presently appear that *Palladius* dyed so long before him, that this Pope had the news of his death; and was thereupon moved to send *Patrick* to succeed him in the mission. This gives a great colour of Truth to that which *e Bale* tells us, that the death of *Palladius* was on the 15th of *December*. For that notation of time is very consistent with all that hath been said by the ancients of this matter. There was time enough between that and the sixt of *April*, for *Patrick* to hear

* p. 51.

d Prosp. Chro. & *Marcellin. Comes.* Ann. 432.

e Baleus de script. XIV. 6. ending. *Usser.* de prim. p. 814, 836.

hear of his death, and afterward to go to *Rome* and receive any thing from Pope *Celeſtin* before his death. There was alſo time enough in the year 431. before the 15th of *December*, for *Palladius* to receive his miſſion at *Rome*, and to try what he could do in *Ireland*, and finding no ſucceſs there, to come and die in this Iſland of *Britain*. All this might come within ſo ſhort a time as that was, between his miſſion in the fore-part of the year, and his death on the Fifteenth of *December* following. I confeſs it doth not ſo well conſiſt with their Hypotheſis, that make *Palladius* the founder of *Epiſcopacy* in that part of *Britain* which is now called *Scotland*: much leſs with the Fancy of their prime Author *f Boethius*, that makes him baptize one *Ternanus* there in his Infancy, and afterward Conſecrate the ſame perſon Archbiſhop; this was more than could well be done in part of a year. Nor can it well be reconciled with that which *Proſper* ſaith of Pope *Celeſtin*, that by ordaining a Biſhop for the *Scots he made the barbarous*

f Hect. Boeth. Scot. hiſt. l. 7. fol. 128.

Chap. II. § 4. *barous Island Christian.* For if he meant this of *Palladius*, then their Conversion in *Ireland* must be within a small part of a year: and that is so extreamly improbable, that, beside that we have all those Authors against it, for the very improbability of the thing it self, I know not how to believe it. I should rather think *g* with Bishop *Usher*, that those words were only a good Omination of *Prosper*'s upon the sending of *Palladius* thither, possibly upon his hearing at first better news than proved afterwards true: or it must have been written with respect to that mission of *Patrick*, which though not mentioned by *Prosper*, because perhaps this *Patrick* was a stranger at *Rome*, yet it might be sufficiently implied in those words of his *Chronicon*, if they are *Prospers*, concerning *Palladius*, that he was *sent to the Scots the* FIRST BISHOP.

g usser. de prim. p. 798.

§. 5. It appears by these words, that there was sent to the *Scots* by Pope *Celestin* another Bishop after *Palladius*; and this is all that can be gathered from them without the help

help of other Books. But we find by a general consent of the ancients that this other Bishop was St. *Patrick*, who was sent to the *Scots* by that Pope after the death of *Palladius*. Thus *i Nennius* goeth on, in the place before mentioned, *upon the news of the death of Bishop* Palladius, Patrick, *another Agent is sent by* Celestin *Pope of* Rome, *to convert the* Scots *to the faith of Christ*. Thus likewise the before-mentioned * *Probus*, and *Jocelin*, together with many other ancient Writers, whom *k* Bishop *Usher* hath collected to prove this. Particularly *l Marianus Scotus*, whom I mention as being the ancienteſt that is extant of that Nation, saith, that *after* Palladius *was* Patrick, a Britain *by Nation, consecrated by Pope* Celestin, *and sent to be Archbishop of* Ireland. Where *Marianus Scotus* saith he was a *Britain*; and yet others say he was a *Scot*; we are to understand it, as *m* Bishop *Usher* there shews, that he was born in that part of *Britain* which is since called *Scotland*. For his birth was at *Nemthur*, now called

i Nennius c. 53. al. 56. *audita morte* Palladii *Episcopi, Alius legatus* Patricius -- *a* Celestino *Papa Romano* --- *ad Scotos convertendos in fidem* Christi *mittitur.*

* p. 57

k usser. de prim. p 814.

l Mar. Scot. Ann. 432. *Post ipsum* S. Patricius *fuit, genere Brito, a* S. Celestino *Papa consecratus, & ad Archiepiscopatum Hiberniensem mittitur.*

m usser. de prim. p. 820, 821.

Chap. II. led *Kirk-Patrick*, near *Grahams-dike*; which was in the land of the *Britains*, but in or near the con-

§. 5. fines of the *Picts*, as *those Writers describe the place of *Palladius* his death. *Patrick* was then in *France*, where he had made his studies, under his mothers Uncle St. *Martin*; and had taken all his orders of Deacon, Priest, and Bishop, as I shall *shew in due place. But hearing there of the death of *Palladius*, (which might come the sooner to him, If *Palladius* died, as I suppose he did, there among his Relations,) thereupon *Patrick* went to Pope *Celestin*, and obtain'd the like assistances from him as *Palladius* had formerly received. And therewith going to *Ireland*, (which he seems to have better understood, because being taken captive heretofore he had lived there for some years,) he bestowed his labours so successfully with Gods blessing, that, as *Prosper* saith, he indeed *made the Barbarous Island Christian*, and is therefore justly accounted the Apostle of that Nation.

*§. p. 57.

* Chap. IV. §. 3.

*p. 52.

§ 6. After these Conversions, first of the

the *South-Picts*, in *Britain*, and then of the *Scots* in their *Ireland* (both which Converſions hapned in one age, and within a few years of one another,) it was yet above a Hundred and twenty years that the NORTH-PICTS ſtill continued in their ſtate of Gentiliſm. And then, about the year 560. St. *Columba*, who was a *Scot*, came over *n* out of *Ireland*, and having obtained the Iſle of *Hy*, where he founded a Monaſtery, he and the Monks that he brought with him *o* Converted King *Brudius* and his *Nation to the Faith of Chriſt*.

n Adamnan. vita *Columb.* I. 1. *de* Scotia *in* Britanniam.

o Bed. hiſt. III. 4. p. 169.

I deſire the Reader to take notice that this Converſion was not from the Pelagian Hereſy, as ſome *p* late Authors would have it, but from downright Gentiliſm. This we are told by a Writer who was one of the beſt able to inform us, namely by *Adamnanus*, who was one of *Columba*'s ſucceſſors in his Monaſtery. He *q* tells us, that King *Brudius* was a Heathen, and ſo were *qq* his People, till *Columba* came thither and made them Chriſtians. So likewiſe *Bede*, who had great

p Hect. Boeth. Scot. hiſt. l. 2. fol. 172. 54.

q Adamn. vita *Columb.* II. 22.

qq Ib. II. 10, 18, 19, 21.

Chap. II. § 6. great opportunity to inform himself, both as being so near those times, and as having been much Conversant with that people. His *r* words are, that *Columba* was the FIRST TEACHER of the Christian faith to the North-*Picts* that dwell beyond the Mountains.

r Bed. hist. V. 10. p. 402.

§. 7. In this Interval of time, between these two last Conversions of the *Scots* and Northern-*Picts*, the *Roman* Province of *Britain* was * quite rent away from the *Roman* Empire; and not only the Countreys between this and *Rome* were unpassable, by reason of the inundation of the barbarous Nations, but even *Italy* it self had divers times changed its Lords, till at last it came to settle under the *Greek* Emperors, * little more than Twenty years before this last Conversion. So that for near a Hundred years, there was almost no possibility of Communication between *Rome* and the *Britains*; and therefore it was no wonder if there was grown a great strangeness between them. Besides, in that interval of time, the *Roman* Church was much altered

* Chap. I. §. 6, 7.

* under *Justinian.*

altered from what it was formerly; that it was ſcarce to be known by them that had not ſeen it in many years: it was grown very much in Stature, and had as it were another Countenance in the outward face of it's Communion.

Rome began to ſhoot up at the time of the *Sardican* Council; when * that Canon was made in favour of that *See*, which, about ſixty years after, Pope *Zoſimus* would fain ſ have perſuaded the *African* Fathers to have taken for a Canon of the firſt *Nicene* Council. But as they would not ſwallow that Gudgeon, ſo neither would the *Gallican* Biſhops by their good will: but they were forced to that or worſe, by *Valentinian* the third; who being a weak & vicious Prince, thought to ſtrengthen himſelf by humouring that See, which had ſo great an Influence on his Empire. And no doubt, that † Novel of his, giving the Biſhop of *Rome* an Autority over all Biſhops in his Dominion, which at that time conſiſted of *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, and part of *Illyricum*, might occaſion the Barba-

* Conc. *Sardic.* can. 7.

ſ *Zoſim Commonit. in Conc. Carth.* VI. Cap. 3.

† Novella *Valent.* III. *in Concil. Tom.* III. fol. 1401. *Edit.*

Chap. II. § 6.

rous Nations, who soon after overrun all those Countreys, to have a great opinion, and even a veneration for the *Roman* See. They were converted to that opinion, & Christianity together, by those Bishops whom they found upon the place in their conquests: and being wholly ignorant of Antiquity, and more intent on other things, they did not trouble themselves with Church-matters. But the *Britains*, whom that Emperour had left to themselves * before that Law was made, might very well be ignorant of it: and therefore continuing in their Primitive Liberty, a Hundred and fifty years after this, when Pope *Gregory* the first would make *Austin* the Monk their Archbishop, *u* they told him plainly *We will not be thy Subjects*; they knew of no Authority he had over them.

*Cha. I. §. 6.

u Bed. hist. II. 4.

§ 7. In like manner, within that Interval of time, there were many things changed in the *Roman* Communion; which, after they had continued an Age or two in their Church, themselves did not know, or would not own, to be alterations.

ons. This appeared especially, in the Rule that they had for the finding out of *Easter*, and of all their other moveable Feasts. They *w* found it by a Cycle of 84 years, which was called *the Roman Account* *x* so lately as in Pope *Leo*'s time. The *Scots* and South-*Picts* used the same Cycle from the time of their conversion; and so did the *Britains*, without any manner of alteration. But about 80 years after the renting of the *Roman* Empire, the *Romans*, having left off the use of that Cycle, took up another of 19 years; which though it was better in many respects, yet was new in these parts, and made a great difference from the former. And when the *Romans* had used this new Cycle another 80 years, coming then to have to do with these Northern Nations, they would needs have imposed the use of it upon them, as a condition of their Communion. They did indeed face them down with *y* two things which were palpably false: one was, that the *Romans* had received their Cycle by Tradition from St.

w *Bed.* hist. V. 22. p. 429.

x *Bucher.* de Canone Pasch. p. 138, and 190. *Usher* Religion of *Ireland* c. 9. p. 93. *Stillingfleet.* answer to *S. C.* p. 319, &c.

y *Bed.* hist. III. 25. p. 235, 236.

Chap. II. § 7. *Peter*; the other, that it was made use of every where, except in these Islands. To the first of these Assertions, the *Scots*, for want of knowing better, opposed only the Authority of St. *John* for their Cycle; as to the other, they could not tell what to say: whereas in truth, though they did not know it, the *Roman* Account came but an Age or two before from *Alexandria*, and was not yet received in all the Western Church, z not in some part of *France* in particular; but that in use among the *Scots* was the same Cycle that they and the *Britains* had ever used since their Conversion, and it was the same that was anciently used in the *Roman* Church.

z *Bucher.* Ib.

§ 8. By these Instances it sufficiently appears, that though *Rome* had not yet proceeded so far as to make new Articles of Faith, (for that was not done by any Act of the Church, that we read of, in a Thousand years after Christs time,) yet she had made great alterations in other things, and made bold to impose them on other Churches as con-

conditions of her Communion. It appears that these Northern Churches were shut out of her Communion; they were *a* called the *Schismaticks* of *Britain* and *Ireland*; for no other reason, but only because they would not receive these alterations, nor submit to the Authority by which they were imposed. They on the other hand were not willing to break Communion, but continued it with them that kept *Easter* with the *Romans*, as some did, without abetting their usurpation. Thus *b* the *British* Bishops join'd in the office of Ordination with *Wini*, a *Saxon*, that was *b* made Bishop in *France*. Thus *c* the *Scots* helpt *Birinus* to convert the West-*Saxons*, though he had been made Bishop in *Italy*. Nay *d* they join'd in Communion with them of *Kent*, that had been converted immediately from *Rome*; and never broke with them till they were forced to it, as I shall shew in * due place. Wheresoever they found the *Roman* Tyranny abetted against them, there indeed they stood upon their Terms, and *e* laid

a *Steph. Hedd.* life of *Wilfrid.* n. 5. *Usher* Relig. of *Irel.* c. 10. p. 106.

b *Bed.* hist. III. 28. p. 247.

c Ib. III. 7. p. 176.

d Ib. III. 25. p. 233.

* Chap. V. §. 5, 7.

e *Usher's* Rel. of *Ireland* c. 12. p. 89.

Chap. II. §. 8.

the Schism upon them that were the cause of it, and *f* would *no more Communicate with them than with Pagans*, as *Bede* tells us. The *Scots* of South-*Ireland* stood thus little more than 30 years after *Austin* came over: All the other *Scots* and the *Picts* held out *g* near a hundred years longer: But the *Britans* *h* much above 200 years. And yet the Churches that stood at this distance from *Rome*, all the while continued *i* Communion with each other, and kept their Religion the same in all points that it was when the *Roman* Empire stood, and the same that was anciently in the purer *Roman* Church.

f Bed. hist. II. 20. p. 158.

g Till the year 716. (saith *Bed.* III. 4. p. 199.

h Usher Relig. of *Ireland.* c. 10.

i Bed. hist. III. 25. p. 234. *hos* (Scotos) *tantum & obstinationis eorum complices, Pictos dico, & Britones, &c.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the ancient Church-Government in theſe Nations; and firſt among the Britans.

HAving ſhewn that the Chriſtian Religion here in *Britain*, was the ſame that was in all other Provinces of the *Roman* Empire; and that while the Empire ſtood, the Chriſtians of this and the other Provinces were all in Communion together; this alone were ſufficient to prove that they had the ſame kind of Church Government: and that Government, at leaſt from the time that Chriſtianity came to be the eſtabliſhed Religion, being unqueſtionably in other Provinces a Dioceſan Epiſcopacy; not only in Name, but in Authority, the ſame that is now in theſe Kingdoms; it would be reaſonable to judge that there was the ſame Government here in *Britain*, though for want of ancient Writings there could be produced no plain inſtances of it. §. 1.

But (as it hath pleaſed God)

Chap. III. § 2. there is no want of such instances, to prove, that Episcopacy was settled here as it was in other Countreys.

§. 2. First, we find at the Council of *Arles*, (which was called by *Constantine* the Great in the year 314.) as there were some of all the three Orders out of every one of the Western Provinces, so there were *k* out of *Britain*, three Bishops, one Priest, and one Deacon. These Bishops were (as *l* Mr. *Jones* observes with great probability,) the Bishops of the three Metropolitical Cities. Two are certain, namely those of *London*, and *York*; and for the third, which was from a Colony, he might probably be of *Caerleon*. Under these three Metropolitans there *m* are said to have been twenty five other Bishops; which, considering that the Province reached Northward as far as *Graham's-Dike*, was much about the same number that is now in that Compass of land; and therefore also the Dioceses of those Bishops were one with another of equal extent with the Dioceses that are now in this Kingdom. What

k Conci'. *Arelat.* I. subscript. post Canones.

l Jones Hearts Sov. p. 137.

m Gildas de excid. Brit. l. 1. saith there were 28 Cities in *Britain*. *Usser* prim. c. 5. p. 577. from *Gild. de victoria Aur. Ambrosii* l. 7. and from the old British Chron. *&c.* shews that they were all Episcopal Sees.

§. 3. What the power of each Biſhop was then in his Dioceſe, it may partly be underſtood from the Eighteenth Canon of that Council; which being ſo very corrupt that it is hardly ſenſe in the Common Editions of the Councils, I ſhall here ſet it down *n* as it is in that ancient Manuſcript of the Councils in the Library at *Sarum*, which was writ before the *Norman* Conqueſt, as far as I can judge by the Character. Theſe are the words of it, *For the Deacons of* Rome, *that they take not upon them there on their own account, but that honour be reſerved to the Presbyters. And that the Presbyters do nothing without leave of the Biſhop.* The laſt words, which ſet forth the Epiſcopal power, are the ſame in effect with thoſe *o* in the Epiſtles of *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, which have been often produced in defence of the Epiſcopal Authority. No man that conſiders the Antiquity of that Father, who died within ten years after St. *John* the Apoſtle, can doubt whether his kind of Epiſcopacy were the Government that the Apoſtles

n Concil. *Arelat.* I. can. 18. *De Diaconibus urbicis, ut non aliquid pro ſe ibi præſumant, ſed honor Preſbyteris reſervetur. Et Preſbyteri ſine conſcientia Epiſcopi nihil faciant.*

o Ignat. Epiſt. ad Philad. p. 30. Edit. *Uſſer. & paſſim.*

Chap. III. §. 3. Apoſtles left in his Church; No man that weighs the words can doubt whether, in his judgment that uſed them, all the Prieſts of every Dioceſs were ſubject to their own Biſhop; And, as the words ſtand in that Canon, they ſhew that Prieſts owe no leſs obedience to their Biſhop, than is due to Prieſts from their own Deacons: Which being the ſenſe of all thoſe Churches that ſent their Clergy to that Council, we have no reaſon to doubt, but that among the reſt it was then the ſenſe of the *Britiſh* Church. This inſtance is ſo much the more to be conſidered; becauſe it was, not only before the Council of *Nice*, but immediately after the tenth perſecution; and therefore it was before there could be any of thoſe Temptations of ſecular greatneſs and wealth, which are ſaid to have cauſed the Corruptions that altered the Primitive purity of Eccleſiaſtical Government; So that whatſoever was then in the Church, we have reaſon to believe had continued from the firſt Conſtitution.

Within

Within Twelve years after the Council of *Arles*, was the firſt *Nicene* Council, which has always been held in ſo great Veneration by all Chriſtian Churches to this day. Among the Canons of this Council the Third, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Eighteenth, have expreſs mention of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, which three orders are therein ſuppoſed to be in all Churches; and in the Fifth, Eighth, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Sixteenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth, the Biſhop is ſpoken of, as having the ſole power of Ordination and Juriſdiction; and the Fourth, Sixth, & Seventh, are concerning the Canonical Rights of Metropolitan Biſhops in their Provinces. §. 4.

How far this may concern us, we cannot judge, unleſs we knew that the *Britiſh* Church conſented to theſe Canons. But we may reaſonably preſume, that this Church conſented to them, becauſe the Emperour did: Nay we have more than preſumption for it from the Emperour himſelf; who, declaring that the Councils rule concerning

Chap. III. § 5.

cerning *Easter* was received in the Provinces, saith *p* expresly, it was received in *Britain*. Therefore 'tis more than probable that this Church received the *Nicene* Canons, which may serve for a farther proof that it had this Ecclesiastical Government.

p Euseb. life of *Const.* M III. c. 18.

§. 5. Sure enough the *Nicene* Creed was received by the Bishops of *Britain*, as well as by those of the other Provinces which were not present at the Council: So much appeared by *q* their Letters to St. *Hilary*, and *r* the great *Athanasius*. It also appears, that they approved of the judgment of the *Sardican* Council in behalf of *Athanasius* against his adversaries. But it does not appear that any of the *British* Bishops were then present at *Sardica*: though some great men have Collected it from *s* a passage in the Latin Translation of his works, who would have thought otherwise if they had consulted the Original; for there *Athanasius* speaks not of them that were present at the Council, but of them that gave their consent to the things

q Hilar. l. de Synodis.

r Athanas Epist. ad *Jovianum*, A.

s Athana s. Apol. 2. beginning.

that

that were judged there in his cauſe.

§. 6. Yet ſeveral of our Biſhops were preſent ſoon after at the Council of *Ariminum*; ſaith *Sulpitius Severus*; who *t* tells us, that three of them had their Biſhopricks ſo meanly endowed, that they were forced to live there at the publick charge. This perhaps might be the Reaſon why we find ſo few of them at any of thoſe Councils that were held beyond the Seas; and it ſeems, in thoſe times, while this Nation was under the *Roman* Emperours, there were but ſlender Encouragements for Learning or Religion: for if there had been a plentiful proviſion for Learned men, it would have appeared in all likelihood by ſome of their Writings; and if Religion had been regarded as it ought, it would ſcarce have been at that low Ebb as we find it was when St. *German* came hither.

t sulpit. hiſt. l. 2.

§. 7. But that ſtill the Chuch here continued under the ſame Epiſcopal Government, even after this Iſland was broken off from the Roman Empire; (beſide what may be gathered

Chap. III. §. 8. thered from the lives of *Dubricius*, *David*, *Paternus*, and many other of the old *Britiſh* Biſhops,) we find it in two unqueſtionable Authors, which are all that from their own knowledge have given us any information of the things of that Age.

§. 8. One was *Gildas* that writ about the year five hundred and ſixty, a little more than a hundred years after the *Saxons* came hither. He *u* tells us, that they being Heathens, had deſtroyed Religion where they came; they kill'd *the Governours of the Church with the Presbyters, and People*: where, that he means Biſhops by the *Governours*, it appears by that *w* which follows ſoon after. For *x* he ſhews that the *Britains* that eſcaped out of their hands had ſtill the three orders remaining among them, *of Biſhops, or other* Sacerdotes, *or Clerks*. Theſe *y* he calls the *Eccleſiaſtical orders or degrees*. The higheſt degree was of them whom St. *Paul* would have to be *irreprehenſible*, (that is ſurely the Biſhops, 1 *Tim*, 3. 2.) Theſe were called *Sacerdotes*, as well as they

u Gild. de excid. *Brit.* l. 1. p. 1009. *Præpoſitos Eccleſiæ, cum ſacerdotibus & Populo.*

w Ib. l. 2. p. 1018.

x Ib. l. 2. p. 1017. *Epiſcoporum, vel* CÆTERORUM *Sacerdotum, aut Clericorum.*

y Ib. l. 2. p. 1018. *Eccleſiaſticos Gradus.*

z Ib. *Summus Gradus.*

they of the ſecond order; for ſo he [a] mentions the *Sacerdotal ſeat, of Biſhop, or Presbyter*; where by *a Biſhops ſeat*, he means a Cathedral, and by a *Presbyters ſeat* a Pariſh Church: and he [b] diſtinguiſhes between them that have *only the name of* Sacerdos, and them [c] that have *the Apoſtolical dignity*, that is Biſhops, of whom *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, he ſaith, [d] was *Sacerdos-Summus-poteſtate*. So it is plain what he means by thoſe words *Epiſcoporum vel cæterorum Sacerdotum*, that they were Biſhops and Presbyters. And that by the loweſt degree, which is there called *of Clerks*, he means Deacons; it appears by his [e] promiſcuous uſe of thoſe words (*Diaconus & Clericus*) Clerk and Deacon. So that there can be no doubt what the Church Government was among the *Britains* in *Gildas* his time.

[a] Ib. *Sacerdotalem Epiſcopatus vel Preſbyterii ſedem.*
[b] Ib. *tantum Sacerdotale nomen.*
[c] Ib. *Apoſtolicam dignitatem.*
[d] Ib. l. 2. p. 1020.
[e] Ib. l. 2. p. 1027.

What it was about forty years after, when *Gregory* the firſt ſent his Miſſionaries hither, we have no better Authority to inform us than [f] *Beda*, who lived within a hundred years of that time. He tells us,

Q. 9.

[f] *Bed.* hiſt. l. 27. p. 85.

Chap. III. § 9. us, that when *Auſtin* the Monk enquired how he ought to behave himſelf toward the Biſhops of the *French* and of the *Britains*; the Pope, that knew what his Monk would be at, anſwered him to the point, *We give thee no Authority over the Biſhops of* France, *for we ought not to deprive the Biſhop of* Arles *of the Authority which he hath received from us*, to be their Metropolitan,--- *But* [g] *all the Biſhops of* Britain *we commit to thee.* I paſs by the Ambition of the man, and the Arrogance of the Maſter: there was enough of the *Typhus Romanus* in both of them. But to our purpoſe, I cannot but obſerve that in *Britain*, as well as in *France*, there were Biſhops, that might paſs muſter well enough, if the Pope might be allowed to Lord it over them.

[g] Ib. p. 86.

Accordingly, when *Auſtin* came to treat with the *Britains*, we find [h] that the Treaty on their part was managed firſt by their Biſhops and learned men, without any mention of Number; and afterwards by their ſeven Biſhops and many learned

[h] *Bed.* hiſt. II. 2. p. 110, 111.

ed men with them. And when *Auſtin* the Monk told them what he would have, it appears they underſtood him as his Maſter the Pope did: and therefore they thought the propereſt anſwer they could give him was *i* this, *we will not have thee to be our Archbiſhop.* If they would but have granted him that, it ſeems that all would have been well enough between them. And therefore, except that diſpute about the Supremacy, there was no other difference in point of Government, between that which the *Romans* brought hither into *England,* and that which at their coming they found ſetled here in the *Brittiſh* Church. On both parts there was a Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, the ſame that was then in *France,* and in *Italy,* from which Countrys *Auſtin* brought his patterns along with him: and as well the *Britans* as the *Engliſh* have continued that Epiſcopacy by Succeſſion in moſt of the ſame Biſhops Sees that then were to this day.

i Ib. p. 112.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Government in the other Churches in theſe Iſlands.

IT may ſeem an overcurious diligence in me, that I have been ſo large in the proof of that which perhaps no man denies. For I know of none that doth not grant that there was in thoſe times ſuch an Epiſcopacy in the *Brittiſh* Church. But yet I thought it worth the while to prove this, as I have done, becauſe it will be of great uſe in the following Controverſie. For if the *Brittiſh* Church was ſetled under ſuch an Epiſcopacy, it will follow that there was the ſame Government in all the other Churches of this *Iſland*: for they all were Converted by *Britains*, or held Communion with the *Brittiſh* Church, and that in ſuch Acts as plainly ſhew that they had the ſame Government.

* Chap. 2. § 2.

§. 1. The SOUTH-PICTS (as I * have ſhewn) were Converted by *Ninian* *k* about the year 412. that is,

k Bed. hiſt. III. 4. p. 169, Saxon. Chron. Ann. 56c.

is, while while *Britain* was yet under the *Roman* Government. But *Ninian* himself was a *Britan*, and he was brought up at *Rome*, which is enough to assure us of his Religion. And if that be not enough to make him thought favourable to Episcopacy; this is, that he was a Bishop himself when he Converted them. His See was at *Candida Casa*, or *Whittern*, in that Country which is now called *Galloway* in *Scotland*, which was then inhabited by the *Roman* Britains. There living near the *Picts*, he was often conversant with them, and so had opportunity to go into their Countrey; where, having made a general Conversion of that people, he did all the other parts of an Apostle; if we may believe the Writer of his life: *l* he Consecrated Bishops among them, he ordained Priests, and divided their Countrey into Parishes; and so having form'd and setled their Church, he returned to his own See at *Whittern*, and there he dyed about Eighteen years after their Conversion.

l ussher. de prim. p. 668.

Chap. IV. § 2. Of the SCOTS I have *shewn that at the time of their Conversion there were none that lived out of *Ireland*. Thither it was (as I have* also shewn) that in the year four hundred thirty one, *Palladius* was sent from *Rome* to be their Bishop. This we have from *m Prosper* an unquestionable Writer of that Age. He saith, (as it is in *Labbe*'s Edition) *to the* Scots BELIEVING *Christ*, Palladius *being ordained by Pope* Celestin *is sent the* FIRST *Bishop*. There seems to have been another Reading of the words in that Copy which *n Nennius* had before him: for he has *Convertendos* instead of *Credentes*, and *Primitus* instead of *Primus*; which makes the sense very much different from that in *Labbe*'s Edition. And in this variation he goes not alone, but with others, some of whom I have * mentioned; according to their sense of the words *Palladius* was sent to a people that were *to be Converted*, and not to them that were *Believers* already: and these say only he was sent *at the first*, that is, before

* Chap. I. § 9. & c. II. § 3. &c.

* Chap. II. § 4.

m *Labbe* Nova Bibl. I. p. 51. *Prosperi* Chro. Cos. *Basso* & *Antiocho*. and from him *Bede* hist. I. 13. p. 55. *Epit. Bede*. Anno 430.

n *Nenn*. c. 52. *Camb*. MS. c. 55.

* Chap. 2. § 4.

fore St. *Patrick*, whereas in our Copies it is said that he was sent *the first Bishop*. Nay, to make the matter yet more doubtful, it is not certain that *Prosper* said any thing more but only this, that he was *ordained Bishop* by that Pope, and *sent to the* Scots, *&c.* for the word *Primus*, as *o* Bishop *Usher* observes, is *not* in our *perfectest Copy*. But yet we see it was in that Copy which *Bede* had before him, whose reading is followed by most of the later Writers. Perhaps it might have been put in by some that knew that St. *Patrick* was a Bishop sent thither also by the same Pope; For they might think it worth noting that *p Palladius* was sent before him in the same quality: And that might be *Prosper*'s own meaning, if the word was in the Original Copy. It might also signifie, according to the **Irish* Tradition, that these *Scots q* had already formed Churches under Bishops, *Kiaranus*, *Ailbeus*, &c. But the Pope ordained *Palladius*, and sent him to be their *Primus Episcopus*, that is, their *Primat*, (as *r* Bishop *Usher* understands

o Usser. de prim. p. 799.

p Florent. wigorn. Ann. 431. *Palladius* PRIMUS *Episcopus missus est:* POST *ipsum* S. Patricius. *& Jocelin c.* 115.

* Chap. 11. § 3.

q Ussher de prim. p. 799. & 800.

r Ib. p. 801, & 899. from *Sigebert* and others.

Chap. IV. §. 1. ſtands it:) or that he, and not St. *Patrick*, was their firſt Archbiſhop. This laſt I conceive ſ to be the true meaning of the words, if *Primus* was in the Original. But whether it was, or no, we are not greatly concerned. For as * it is certain that *Palladius* was ſent into *Ireland*, and not into *Britain*; ſo we are ſure that in either of theſe Iſlands, he ſtaid but a very ſhort time, and did nothing worth the Remembring: So far was he from Erecting a new form of Government, or from altering any form that he found already ſettled in thoſe Countreys.

ſ Saxon. Chro. Ann. 429.

* Chap. II. §. 4.

As for that which is ſaid by ancient * Writers, of his coming to die ſomewhere in the North part of *Britain*; though that may ſeem to give ſome kind of countenance to thoſe Fablers, that make him to have lived many years among the *Scots*, and there to have ſet up Epiſcopacy; yet this Colour abates, as ſoon as it is remembred that the *Scots* were not then come to live in this Iſland; ſo that, if he did any thing in that Countrey, it muſt be among

* Chap. II. §. 4.

among the *Picts*. And indeed all that ſpeak of his dying here, * ſay, it was among them, or in or near to their Confines. But then he came, either too ſoon, or too late, to ſet up Epiſcopacy any where in their Countrey. It was too ſoon to do it among the North-Picts; for they were not Chriſtians till above a hundred years after, in the time of *Columba*, who * was, as *Bede* tells us, *the firſt Teacher* of Chriſtianity in that Countrey. And therefore, if it was any where, it muſt be among the South-Picts, according to *t* the Author of *Scotichronicon*, though he did not intend it: for out of his good will to beſtow a Saint upon his own Town of *Fordon*, he made *Eugenius* King of the *Scots* give *Palladius* a ſettlement there; not conſidering that *Fordon* belonged at that time to the South-Picts, and that the *Scots* never had it * till above 400 years after. It ſeems this was new to the Monks of that place; and this diſcovery of *John* of *Fordon*'s ſet them upon ſearching for the body of *Palladius*, which was found there (as the

* Ib.

* Chap. II. § 5.

t uſſer. de prim. p. 670. out of *John* of *Fordon*'s Scotichronicon.

* Chap. I. § 9, 10.

Chap. IV. § 2. *Scottish* Writers tell us) in the year 1494. that is, within Eleven hundred years after his death. No doubt they found a dead body there, whosoever it was. But admit it was the body of *Palladius*, or at least that he dyed there, or somewhere else among the S. *Picts*; it does not follow that he brought Episcopacy, or any thing new into that Countrey. For the S. *Picts* were already turn'd Christian, by * *Nennianus*, who was himself a *Brittish* Bishop; and who had there form'd a Church under Diocesan Bishops, as we have * already shewn; and there is no mention of any one Bishop that was ordained by *Palladius*, either there, or any where else, except *Servanus* and *Tervanus*, whose Ordinations were *long after his death*, as it is *w* proved by Bishop *Usher*.

u *Hector Boeth. Scot. hist. l. 7. fol. 133. li. 10.*

* Chap. II. § 2.

* Chap. IV. § 1.

w ussher. de prim. p. 1100.

§. 3. Therefore to say no more of the effects of *Palladius's* Apostleship, among the *Irish*, or any where else, than we have from ancient Writers, that is very little more than nothing; The honour of Converting the Generality of that Nation was reserved

reſerved for St. *Patrick*, who * came * Chap. IV.
thither within one year after the §. 5.
ſending of the other, and he is generally acknowledged to have been the Apoſtle of that Nation.

Before we come to ſhew what he did in that Miniſtry, it will be eaſie to judge what he would do, concerning Church-Government, if we conſider him in all his former Relations. For firſt, he was born in the *Roman* Province of *Britain*; which was enough to engage both his Judgment and his Affections to the Government of Biſhops; it being then the only form that was in his Countrey, not to ſay (as juſtly I may) the only form that ever was among Chriſtians. But beſides, we are told *x* that he had all three Orders in his own Family: his Father *Calpurnius* was a Deacon, his Grandfather *Potitus* a Prieſt, and his Mothers brother S. *Martin* was Biſhop of *Tours* in *France*. In his younger Travels he was taken Captive, and carried into *Ireland*, where he was kept ſo for ſome years. The Compaſſion that he had then for the People there, being altogether

x *Nennius*, c. 52.

Chap. IV. §. 3.

ther Heathens, was that which gave him the first impulse to endeavour their Conversion. After he had his Liberty, he came to live with his Uncle St. *Martin*; and after his death, and a second Travel, he lived with St. *German* Bishop of *Auxerre*: both these were Diocesan Bishops; of whom the first made him Deacon, the second made him Priest, which was a farther engagement to Episcopacy. St. *German*, having *a* heard of the death of *Palladius*, perswaded him to take the duty upon himself, as he formerly designed, to go and Preach the Faith in that Countrey. In order to this, being first ordained Bishop in *France*, he went afterward to *b* Pope *Celestin*, who was the best able to furnish him with necessaries, and who had already shewed his good will to the design by sending *Palladius* thither before him. And that Pope did for him as he had done for *Palladius*; that is, he *c* made him Archbishop, and gave him all accommodations for the Work; which was thought enough to entitle him to the good success of it. To this sense, I should chuse to apply

a Nennius c. 53. Cambridge MS. c. 56. *Audita morte Palladii monente & suadente* Germano *Sancto Episcopo, ad* Scotos *convertendos in fidem* Christi *mittitur.*

b Usser. de prim. p. 814. from *Nennius, Probus, Marianus, Sigebert*, &c.

c Usser. de prim. p. 815. from *Marianus, Florent. Wigorn*, &c. p. 873. from *Sigebert*, &c.

ply those words of *Prosper* in his Book against *Cassian*; where speaking of Pope *Celestin*, he saith, that *by ordaining a Bishop for the Scots he made that barbarous Island Christian.*

But by the way, how ever that Pope had the credit of it, our *Britains* were all that wrought in that Conversion: For as *Patrick* himself was one of this Nation, so were all the rest that he took with him for his Assistance: of whom *d Nennius* names these three, *Segerus* a Bishop, *Auxilius* a Priest and *Iserninus* a Deacon; that were all Ordained with him, as he saith, by the holy Bishop *Amatheus*, who first gave him (that before was called *Moun*) the name of *Patricius*.

d Nennius. c. 54. Cambr. MS. c. 57.

Being now come into *Ireland*, he laboured there with great success; and having in few years made the *Island Christian*, (as there *Prosper* tells us,) he formed it into Diocesan Churches; he ordained thirty Bishops of those *Britains* that came to him; he placed his own See at *Armagh*, which he made the Metropolis: There he sate as Arch-

Chap. IV. ¶ 5.

Archbiſhop and Primate of *Ireland*, there he held his yearly Synods, and did all other things according to the Patterns that he had ſeen in other Countreys. I know not whether it be worth taking notice of, that *e Nennius* ſaith, and ſome others after him, that *Patrick* writ 365 ABCes, founded 365 Churches, ordained 365 Biſhops or more, and no fewer than 3000 Prieſts. It ſeems the Writers of thoſe times, when they were ſet upon the Pin of multiplying, uſed to ſay that things were as many as the days of the year: For ſo the *f* Writer of *Kentigern*'s life ſaith, that in his Monaſtery at St. *Aſaph* he had 365 Monks for Divine Service; which no man will underſtand literally that knows the place. Perhaps the meaning might be, that beſide thoſe thirty Biſhops which *Patrick* ordain'd for the Biſhops Sees, he alſo ordain'd as many Suffragans as there were Rural Deanries, in each of which there were eight or nine Pariſh-Prieſts, taking one Deanry with another. If St. *Patrick* would ſo far conſult

e Nenn. c. 57. Cambr. MS. c. 60. *Scripſit Abgetoria 365 Eccleſias quoque eodem numero fundavit 365. Ordinavit Epiſcopos 365, aut eo amplius. Presbyteros autem uſque ad 3000.*

f Uſſer. de prim. p. 565. from *John* of *Tinmouth.*

ſult the eaſe of the Biſhops, or the Peoples convenience, he might do it without altering the *Species* of the Church-Government. But no man that writes of the Church-matters of *Ireland*, ſpeaks of any thing there in thoſe times, which was otherwiſe than it was in the Churches of the *Roman* Empire. And for the Sees that were then founded in *Ireland*, we have an account of many of their Biſhops in that work which Sr. [g] *James Ware* has publiſht concerning the Prelates of *Ireland*; where alſo he ſhews how in ſome of thoſe Sees the Succeſſion has been continued ever ſince till our Age.

[g] *Wareus de Præſulibus Hiberniæ.*

§ 4. But the *Roman* Empire ſtood not long after this laſt mentioned Converſion. It was about the time when *Proſper* writ, that the *Saxons* overran *Britain*, and ſoon after the like was done in other Countreys. So that theſe Northern Chriſtians were grown ſtrangers to them in *Italy*: and before they came to be acquainted again, there were thoſe Innovations at *Rome*, which I mention'd * in the

* Chap. II. § 9.

Chap. IV. §. 8. in the foregoing Chapter. Their not yielding to these real Innovations was a bar to their Communion with *Rome*, which by this time was ignorant enough to mistake ancient things for Innovations. But yet *Rome* had nothing to say against their form of Church-Government; she found it still the same that was in other Christian Countreys: and therefore, if other things had been agreed, she would have own'd their Bishops, and Communicated with them, as * the *Saxons* and *Britans* did with one another.

*Chap. II. § 9.

§ 5. For their Communicating together, as well while they were strangers to *Rome*, as after they had refus'd to submit to her Terms of Communion; This is so well known, that I need not spend much time to prove it. *Kentigern*, the *British* Bishop of *Glascow*, was ordain'd by an *Irish* Bishop: and for *Cedd*, a *Scotch* Bishop, *Wini* being to ordain him, took in two *British* Bishops to his assistance: Divers other such Instances we might bring if there were occasion. But the words of *Laurentius*, *Melitus*, and *Justus*, the *Roman*

Roman Biſhops that were ordain'd by *Auſtin* the Monk, are *h* plain enough; *we have found* (ſay they) *by Converſing with them, that the* Scots *do not differ from the* Britans.

But as * I have ſhewn that the *Romans* did not diſlike the Orders that they found in the *Britiſh* Church; So it appears that what were then among the *Scots*, they either approved, or at leaſt they had nothing to ſay againſt them. When the before named *Roman* Biſhops ſent that Epiſtle into *Ireland*, the *i* Inſcription was *To our Lords and Deareſt Brethren, the Biſhops, and Abbats, throughout all* Scotland; that is *Ireland*, the *Scots* own Countrey, as *Bede* there interprets it. The matter of this Epiſtle was to invite them into the *Roman* Communion; but not a word they had to ſay againſt their orders. In like manner when *John* the Pope-Elect writ his Epiſtle to the Clergy of the North part of *Ireland*, who yet perſiſted in their former way of reckoning their *Eaſter*, when the South *Iriſh* were come over to the new way that was uſed

h Bed. hiſt. II. 4. p. 118. Scotos *nihil diſcrepare à* Britonibus *in eorum converſatione didicimus.*

* Chap. III. § 9.

i Bed. Ib. *Domini & Chariſſimis fratribus, Epiſcopis & Abbatibus per univerſam* Scotiam.

in

Chap. IV. § 5. in the *Roman* Church; the Inſcription of the Epiſtle to them, whom they at *Rome* accounted Schiſmaticks, was *To our moſt beloved and moſt holy* [k] Tomianus, *Columbanus, Cronanus, Dimanus, and Baithanus, Biſhops; Cronanus, Ernianus, Lauſtranus, Scellanus*, and *Segianus*, Prieſts; *Saranus, and the other Scotiſh Doctors or Abbats.* This [l] *Tomianus* was then Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, *Dimanus* was Biſhop of *Connor*, *Baithanus* was Biſhop of *Clonmacnois*, as it appears in Sir *James Ware*'s Catalogue: I have not found the Sees of the other two Biſhops. Thoſe five Presbyters, and that one without any title, were all of them Abbats, as may be judged by the Inſcription of the former Epiſtle, which is only to *Biſhops* and *Abbats*. *Cronanus*, the firſt of the Presbyters, ſeems to have been the Abbat of *Roſs-cree*: *Segianus*, the laſt of them, ſeems to have been the ſame with *Segenius* Abbat of that Monaſtery in the Iſle of *Hy*; for *Segenius* came to be Abbot in the year 623. and dyed in the year 652. between which two-

[k] Bed. hiſt. II. 19. p. 154. Corrected by Biſhop *uſher de prim.* p. 968, 969, 970. *Dilectiſſimis & Sanctiſſimis Tomiano*, &c. *Epiſcopiis*; *Cronano*, &c. *Presbyteris*; *Sarano, cæteriſque Doctoribus ſeu Abbatibus Scotis.*

[l] *Uſſ. prim.* p. 938. *War. de præſul. Hib.* p. 5, 62, 196. *Uſſ. prim.* p. 969. Ib. p. 702.

two years, on the last day of *December* 640. was the Consecration of *John* IV. who, while he was yet Pope Elect, wrote this Epistle. *Saranus* was an Abbat that was not in Priests Orders; which ought to be remembred, when * we come to consider how true it is that Abbats and Senior Monks could ordain, as some would have it. The matter of the Epistle to these *Irish* Bishops and Abbats was chiefly to persuade them that in finding of *Easter* they followed the *Jews*: which, as it discovers the Pope's Ignorance in this point, so it shews that he stuck at nothing else in their Church; and therefore not at their Orders; they are acknowledged in the Title of the Epistle, and there is nothing against them in the Body of it. Therefore we cannot wonder to find that the *Saxons* admitted the *Irish* Clergy to officiate among them, as sometime they did; and suffered their Bishops to joyn with them in the office of Ordination.

* Chap VII. §

This may suffice for the *Scots* that were in *Ireland*, to shew that

they had the ſame ſort of Biſhops among them that were in all other Churches.

CHAP. V.

Of Church-Government among the Scots *and* North-Picts *in* Scotland *and in* England.

LAſtly, For the NORTH-PICTS, and the *Scots* their Converters, who dwelt in the Iſle of *Hy*, and who from thence Converted all the North of *England*, and furniſht it with its firſt Biſhops. The Queſtion is chiefly concerning theſe, of whom therefore I am to ſpeak more particularly.

§. 1. It hath been * ſhewn that the firſt * Chap. II. § 6. Converſion of theſe *Picts* was by *Columba* and his twelve Monks, who were all *Scots* that came out of *Ireland*. And therefore we may reaſonably preſume that their ſenſe concerning Church-Government was the ſame that was generally in their Countrey. And there * I * § 8. have ſhewn that at the time of this Converſion

Converſion there was a ſetled Dioceſan Epiſcopacy. But beſides, concerning *Columba* himſelf, we are aſſured that *p* when he was in *Leinſter, a young man,* and *then Deacon,* he was the Diſciple of *q Finian,* who had been ſeven times at *Rome,* and was at that time Biſhop of *Meath*; and it is ſaid that it was by this *Finian*'s advice, that, being forced to leave *Ireland* for fear of King *Dermot,* he choſe to make his retreat into that part of *Britain.* Being there in *Jona* he knew by Revelation the death of *r his dear friend* Columbanus Biſhop of *Laghlin.* His Education under one Dioceſan Biſhop, and his Intimacy with another, makes it yet more probable that *Columba* was not againſt that ſort of Epiſcopacy.

p Adamnan. vit. *Columb.* III. 7.

q Called *Findbarrus Epiſcopus* by *Adamnanus* Ib. II. 1. *his Maſter, the Reverend Biſhop Finio, Adamn.* Ib. III. 4. & *Cummeneus* in his life of *Columba* n. 3. *Vinianus Epiſcopus* in *Adamn.* Ib. III. 7.

r Cummeneus Ib. n. 8. and *Adamnan.* Ib. III. 16. Columbanus *Epiſcopus* Laginenſis, *carus* Columbæ *amicus.*

It may be askt, why then he was not Ordain'd Biſhop himſelf? eſpecially, when he was going to Convert a Heathen Nation? which was the ſame reaſon for which *Palladius* and *Patrick* were made Biſhops. It ſeems probable that, when he went upon this Service,

V. 1. the Biſhops in *Ireland* durſt not Ordain him, for fear of provoking the King to turn his wrath upon themſelves. But beſides, it ſeems that he choſe rather to be an Abbat than a Biſhop, having from his youth devoted himſelf to a Monaſtick life. He was ſo fond of that way of life, that (*f* as *Beda* tells us) he had founded many Monaſteries even before he came out of *Ireland*: and adding to them what he founded afterward, a *t* Writer of his life reckons them to have been no leſs than a hundred, all which he ſubjected to his Monaſtery of *Hy* above mentioned. That Monaſtery and that Iſland were his Propriety, there he was much more than a Biſhop, he lived like the General of his Order, and was truly, as one called our *Anſelm*, a Pope of another world. But yet that, even there, he acknowledged the Superiority of the Epiſcopal Order; and that he did not think Biſhops unneceſſary, even in his Monaſtery; theſe two things I ſhall ſhew out of the little that remains to us of thoſe times.

f Bed. hiſt.

First

First, that *Columba* did acknowledge the Superiority of the Epiſcopal Order above that which he had being a Prieſt, and that even in his own Monaſtery; of this I ſhall give an Inſtance out of his life writ by his Succeſſor *Adamnanus*, who was Abbat of *Hy* when *Bede* was but ſeven years old, and both for the place and time when he lived, was very capable to be a witneſs of what he writes. He *u* tells us, that there came to *Columba* in *Hy*, one that demean'd himſelf as humbly as he could that none might know that he was a Biſhop. But yet that could not be concealed from the Holy man [*Columba*] For one Lords day the Holy man having ordered him at the Communion to Conſecrate with him, according to the Cuſtom, he called to the Holy man *w* that they might break the Lords Bread together, as two Prieſts [uſed to do in their way of Conſecration] The Holy man therefore coming to the Altar; on the ſudden, *Columba* lookt him in the face, and ſaid to him, *Chriſt bleſs thee, my Brother, x thou being a Biſhop*

§ 2.

u Adamnan. Ib. I. 26.

w Ut ſimul, quaſi duo Presbyteri, Dominicum panem frangerent.

x Hunc ſolus Epiſcopus Epiſcopali ritu frange panem.

V. 2. *ſhop break this Bread alone as a Biſhop uſes to do. Now we know that thou art a Biſhop. Why haſt thou hitherto endeavoured to conceal thy ſelf* y *that we might not give thee due Veneration?* Theſe words of *Columba* to a Biſhop, do ſufficiently ſhew that he acknowledged the Epiſcopal Order Superior to his own Order of Presbyter; which was the firſt thing that I undertook to prove.

y *ut tibi à nobis debita non redderetur veneratio.*

§. 3. The other is, that *Columba* did acknowledge that Biſhops were neceſſary for the ordaining of others into the Miniſtry. That he did not think Biſhops unneceſſary, it appears in that there was always one in his Monaſtery, as z Biſhop *Uſher* tells us out of the *Ulſter* Annals. And why could not the Abbot live there without a Biſhop? Sure it was to do ſomething which without the help of a Biſhop he could not do himſelf, neither ſingly, nor in conjunction with the reſt of his Clergy: and whatſoever that was, it was part of an Office that made the Biſhop more than a Name. Of this ſort as there was one

z *Uſſer.* prim. p. 701.

one always Reſident in his Monaſtery; ſo there was as *a Bede* tells us, *a Biſhop of all the Province*, whether the ſame with the Reſident, or another, I cannot yet find. And beſides, there were commonly more Biſhops coming and going; ſuch as either came on Viſits, or were driven out of their Countrey, or retired thither from the World. For their Monaſteries (as * I ſhall ſhew) were the Univerſities of that Age: and though the greateſt part of the Monks were Lay-men, that maintained themſelves by working with their own hands; yet what Clergy they had in thoſe days were bred up in theſe Monaſteries, and there for lower Orders they were ordained by the Reſident Biſhop. To ordain another Biſhop, the Reſident might have others there to join with him; though, if more could not be had, *b* one might do it in caſe of Neceſſity.

a Bed. hiſt.

Chap. VII. § 5.

b Uſher Religion of *Ireland*. c. 8. p. 78.

Thus when King *Oſwald*, becoming a Chriſtian, deſired to have a *Biſhop* from *Hy*, to plant a Church among his *Northumbrians*; firſt, they *c* ſent him one, that was or-

§. 4.

c Bed. hiſt. III. 3. p. 166. and III. 5. p. 171.

V. 4. dain'd perhaps only by the Biſhop of *Hy*. When he could not agree with his People, he therefore *d* return'd back to his Monaſtery; where, having in a Council of the Seniors given an account of his ill reception, *Aidan* being then preſent, and diſcourſing well of the matter, all the Seniors *e* pitcht upon him; and judging him *worthy to be a Biſhop*, they decreed that he *ought to be ſent*: it follows, that *ſo they ordain'd him, and ſent him*. Then at leaſt there were preſent two Biſhops for *Aidans* Ordination; and if the See of *Dunkeld* was then founded, as *f* old Writers tells us, the Biſhop of that place might make a third: or there might be ſome other, of whom *Bede* had no occaſion to tell us; for he could little think that ever it would come to be a Queſtion, whether *Aidan* were ordain'd by Biſhops, or by Presbyters.

d Bed. hiſt. III. 5. p. 171.

e Bed. Ib. p. 172. *ipſum eſſe dignum Epiſcopatu, ipſum*, &c. *mitti debere decernunte Sicqu; illum Ordinantes miſerant.* So Ib. V. 13. p. 480. Aidanum *miſerant Antiſtitem.*

f Uſher prim. p. 705.

§. 5. But that *Aidan* was *g* ordain'd there at *Hy*, *Bede* plainly ſaith in theſe words; *h* *King* Oſwald *deſired to have a Biſhop ſent to him*, and *he received Biſhop* Aidan; and again,

g Bed. hiſt. III 5. beginning and ending.

h Bed. hiſt. III. 3. p. 166.

Biſhop

Biſhop Aidan *came to him*; again, *i Aidan* was ſent from *Hy* to Convert the *Engliſh*, *having received the degree of Biſhop in the time when* Segenius *Abbat and Prieſt was over that Monaſtery.* by the way, this *Segenius* is *Seginus* in other Copies, which is nearer to *Segianus* *before mentioned. And that this Ordination was into a higher Order than that of Presbyters, it ſufficiently appears by divers things that we read of in *Bede*'s Hiſtory: As namely, *k* that he choſe *the place of his Epiſcopal See* in the Iſle of *Lindisfarn*; *l there he was with his Clergy*, and there was *the Abbat with his Monks*, who all *belonged to the care of the Biſhop.* For his Clergy, he had divers perſons that came with him from *Hy*; of them probably were his Chaplains that went about with him, of whom one is called *m Presbyter ſuus*, his domeſtick Chaplain; and one or two *n Clerici ſui, his Presbyters* in King *Alfred*'s Tranſlation; Beſide theſe, there were many Presbyters that came out of *Ireland*, who Preached, and Baptized; and ſo *o Churches were built*

i Bed. hiſt. III. 5. p. 169. *accepto gradu Epiſcopatus.*

Chap. IV. § 6.

k Bed. hiſt. III. 3. p. 16.

l Bed. Ib. VI6 27. p. 35. o

m Bed. Ib. III. 14. p. 200. and III. 23. p. 226.

n Bed. Ib. III. 5. p. 170.

o Bed hiſt. III. 3. p. 167.

V. 5. *built in many places* throughout his Dioceſe. Next, for the extent of his Dioceſe, it was as large as *p Oſwald*'s Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*; and particularly, *q* where the King had a Town, there he had a Church, and a Lodging. For a Nurſery for his Clergy, the King gave *r Poſſeſſions and Territories for the founding of Monaſteries*; At one of theſe, which was *Heortea*, *ſ* he Conſecrated *Hern* Abbeſs. And no doubt he ordain'd men of all Order, to fill up his Clergy where there was occaſion, as well as his Succeſſors did, as * I ſhall ſhew; and governed them and his Flock as long as he was Biſhop, which was *t* for Seventeen years, even till his death. All which time, *Bede* calleth him Biſhop *Aidan*, as oft as he mentions him. And as more than once he gives him an excellent Character for the good he did, and ſpends ſome *u* whole Chapters in giving account of his Miracles; ſo he diſlikes nothing in his whole conduct, but his not keeping right *Eaſter*: and *w* ſaith, for all that, he was not only in

p Ib. p. 167.
q Ib. III. 17. p. 204.
r Ib. III. 3. p. 167.
ſ *Bed.* hiſt. IV. 23. p. 312.
§ 6.
t *Bed.* hiſt. III. 17. p. 203, 204.
u *Bed.* hiſt. III. 15, 16. 17.
w *Bed.* hiſt. III. 25. p. 233.

in Communion with the Biſhops that came from *Rome*; But as, while he lived, he was *deſervedly beloved* by them, and was *had in Veneration* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles*; So *x* after his death he was accounted a Saint by them of the *Roman* Communion. This ſufficiently ſheweth that they did not take him for an Intruder into their Order, but were very well ſatisfied with his Ordination.

x Bed. vita *Cuthberti* n. 7.

After *Aidan*'s Death, Finan *y ſucceeded him in his Biſhoprick, and z in his ſtead received the degree of Epiſcopacy*, ſaith *Bede*, again uſing the ſame Expreſſion; meaning (I ſuppoſe) that he received a degree higher than what he had before when he was Prieſt. And he alſo was *a ordain'd, and ſent by the* Scots; that is by *Scottiſh* Biſhops, as I ſhall ſhew * afterwards. There was great reaſon this ſhould be done in *Hy*, for there was no Biſhop to do it in *Northumbria*. When he came thither into his Dioceſe, *Bede b* ſaith, *he made a Church fit for an Epiſcopal See*, which it ſeems that was not which

§. 6.

y Bed. hiſt. III. 17. p. 204. *Succeſſit ei in Epiſcopatu.*

z Bed. hiſt. III. 17. p. 204, and 25. p. 233.

a Bed. hiſt. III. 25. p. 233.

Chap. VI. § 4.

b Bed. Ib.

V. 6. which *Aidan* had built, for he built only for the preſent Neceſſity. This *Finan* *c* Baptized *Peada* King of the *middle-Angles* with all his Court; and then gave him four Prieſts, one *Scot*, and three *Engliſh*, to baptize all the reſt of his People: The *Scottiſh* Prieſt, who was named *Diuma*, he afterward *d* ordain'd to be Biſhop of that Province of *Mercia*. *Finan* alſo *e* baptized *Sigebert* King of the *Eaſt-Angles* with his friends: who having gotten two Prieſts to Convert and baptize his People, when that was done, one of them, whoſe name was *Cedd* came to acquaint Biſhop *Finan* with their Succeſs; who *f* having found the work of the Goſpel proſpered in his hands, *g ſent for two other Biſhops to aſſiſt him in the Miniſtry of Ordination, and he with them ordain'd* Cedd *Biſhop of the* Eaſt-*Angles*. Theſe Inſtances may ſuffice to ſhew that *Finan* took upon him to be more than a Presbyter, and that *Bede* meant ſomething more in *h* calling him as he does conſtantly a Biſhop.

c Bed. hiſt. III. 21. p. 218.

d b 21 hiſt. 21. 211 p 219.

e II. II. 22. Idd 2.

f Bed. hiſt. Ig I 22.

g p. 223.

h Bed. hiſt. III. 17. p. 204. *tempore non pauco in Epiſcopatu permanſit.*

After

After his death, *Colman i* Succeeded in the *Biſhoprick*, ſaith *Bede*; who addeth, that he alſo was *k ſent from* Scotland, that is *l* from *Hy*, and that *m he was a Biſhop of* Scotland, and the *Scots n ſent him Biſhop to* Lindisfarn. So his Ordination, his See, and his Dioceſe, *o* were the ſame with thoſe of *Aidan* and *Finan*. The Church at *Lindisfarn* was *p* that in which he Preſided, and his Dioceſe alſo was the Kingdom of *Northumbria*. But ſome other Kingdoms, that had Biſhops of their own, being then ſubject to the King of *Northumbria*, it ſeems that *Colman* was their Metropolitan Biſhop: for ſo I find him call'd by a *q* Writer then living, *Colman Metropolitan of the City of* York. There he governed till the thirtieth year *r* of *the Epiſcopacy of the* Scots *which they held in the Province of the* Engliſh. For *Aidan* held the Biſhoprick Seventeen years, *Finan* Ten years, *Colman* Three years. And then being fain to leave his Biſhoprick, becauſe he would not comply with the *Romans* upon

§. 7.

i Ib. III. 25. p. 233.
k Bed. Ib.
l Ib IV. 4. p. 270.
m Bed. hiſt. IV. 4. p. 270.
n Ib. III. 25. p. 234.
o Ib. III. 25. p. 234.
p Ib. p. 239. *Eccleſia cui præerat.*
q Steph. Heddii vita Wilfridi n. 1.
r Bed. hiſt. III. 26. p. 239. *Epiſcopatus* Scotorum, *quem geſſerunt in provincia* Anglorum.

V. 7. upon the Controverſie about the *r* keeping of *Eaſter*, he went *ſ* firſt to *Hy*, and from thence to *Iniſhofin* in *Ireland*; where, after all, he dyed a Biſhop, and as ſuch is Recorded in *t* the *Ulſter* Annals.

r Bed. hiſt. III. 26. p. 239.
ſ Ib. IV. 4. p 270.
t uſſ. prim.

§. 8. After *Colman* was gone, *u* the next Biſhop of the *Northumbrians* was *Tuda*. He (as *w Beda* ſaith) *was brought up, and ordain'd a Biſhop, among the South* Scots *in* Ireland. But theſe South *Scots* had, upon the Popes admonition, received the new Rule for keeping *Eaſter*, about Thirty years before *Colman* was Biſhop; and therefore there can be no doubt that their Orders were the ſame as in the *Roman* Church. So *x Bede* ſaith, that *Tuda* had *his Tonſure according to the manner of that Province, and obſerved the Catholick Rule of the time of* Eaſter. While *Colman* yet *held the office of High Prieſt*, this *Iriſh* Biſhop was come over into *Northumbria*, and there *diligently taught by word and deed, thoſe things which belong to Faith and Truth*. The Covenanting *Scots* of our Age would firſt have made him

u Bed. hiſt. III. 26. p. 239. *Suſcepit pro illo Pontificatum* Northanhymbrorum Tuda.
w Ib. III. 3. p. 166.
x Bed. hiſt. III. 26. p. 239.

him renounce his order of Biſhop before they would have admitted him to any work of the Miniſtry: But *Colman* did admit *Tuda* to be a Teacher, which ſheweth that the Churches were yet in Communion together. And ſo they continued, till the Breach, upon King *Oſwy*'s Impoſition of the new Rule of *Eaſter*. When that had driven away *Colman*, then this Biſhop, being ready upon the place, *y Bede* ſaith, took upon him *the Office of High Prieſt in his ſtead.* And to ſhew what the High Prieſts Office was, if that word need any explication, *z Bede* ſaith, *he governed the Church*: But it was a very little while, for he died of the Plague the ſame year.

y Bede, Hiſt. III. 26. p 239.

z Ibid.

§. 9.

The *a* next Biſhop of *Lindisfarn* was *Eata*, who was *b* ordained by *Theodore* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and made firſt Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, and afterward tranſlated to *Lindisfarn*. Of him, and all his Succeſſors, there is no controverſie. The Queſtion is only concerning his Predeceſſors; whether they were ſuch Biſhops as are now in our

a Bede, Hiſt. III. 26. p. 239.

b Bede, Hiſt. IV. 2.

c c Bed. hiſt. IV. 28. p. 353.

V. 7. our Church, or whether they were only called Biſhops Equivocally. But if *Eata* was a proper Dioceſan Biſhop, ſo was *Tuda*, and ſo were his other Predeceſſors. For we read of no change of Government, in *Beda*, who is the only Author between us in this part of the Controverſie; But he makes them orderly ſucceed one another, in the See of *Lindisfarn*, as Bps. of the *Northumbrian* Dioceſs. And to put the matter out of Diſpute, where he ſpeaks of this laſt Biſhop, *the moſt Reverend Father* Eata, as *i* he calls him; He ſaith, that he had the Abby and Monaſtery of *Lindisfarn* under him; as *Aidan* had, who was *the FIRST Biſhop* of the place. Surely *Bede* could not have called *Aidan* the firſt Biſhop, in relation to *Eata*; if *Aidan* and the reſt were not ſuch Biſhops as *Eata* was, but only called Biſhops Equivocally.

i Bede, Hiſt. IV. 27. p. 350.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

That all the other Biſhops Ordain'd by the Scots, *were properly Biſhops.*

TO make it plainer yet, what kind of Biſhops thoſe were in *Northumbria*; it may be conſidered what thoſe were whom they Ordained for other Countries, They ordained Biſhops over the *Mercians*, and *Middle Angles*, and *Eaſt-Saxons*. If we find that theſe were in our ſenſe proper Biſhops, we have reaſon to judg that they were ſo that Ordained them.

§ 1.

First, Of the *Middle Angles*, we *a* read that *Diuma*, who was a Scotchman belonging to *Finan*, and three other Presbyters of the *Northumbrian* Dioceſe Preacht to them, and Converted and Baptized them. No doubt they, as being Prieſts, might Preach and Adminiſter the Sacraments. But there wanted ſomething more for the perfecting of a Church. And thô *Diuma* was the chief of theſe four,

a *Bede*, Hiſt. III. 21. p. 218.

Chap. VI. § 1. He could not yet ſupply that Defect, as being only Senior Presbyter. Therefore *Diuma* goes to *Finan* Biſhop of *Lindisfarn*, and gets him to Ordain him a Biſhop, as * I have ſhewn *b* from *Bede*. Who addeth, that he was Biſhop of the *Middle Angles*, and *Mercians*; *there being ſo few Prieſts that one was fein to be Biſhop over both thoſe Countries*, which *c* contained no leſs than 17 or 18 of our Counties; and the *Mercians* were no leſs than *d twelve thouſand Families*, as *Beda* tells us, (thô according to their account, it muſt be a great Town that had a hundred Families in it, when *Angleſey* had no more than 900, and the *Iſle of Man* had but 300 Families in it.) It ſeems if there had been ſtore of Presbyters, each people of thoſe two beforementioned ſhould have had a Biſhop to it ſelf; and yet a Biſhop for twelve thouſand Families, ſo diſperſt as they were, had been ſomething more than a Congregational, or Parochial Biſhop; they muſt find ſome other name for him, that would not have him called a Dioceſan. Af-

* Ch. IV. § 6.

b *Bed.* Hiſt. III. 21. p. 219.

c *Uſher* Relig. of *Ireland*, p. 115.

d *Bed.* Hiſt. III. 25. p. 232.

After his Death, e *Bede* ſaith that *Ceollah* or *Cellach* a Scot, *took the Office of a Biſhop in his ſtead*; who, not long after, f left his Biſhoprick, or Office of Biſhop, and returned to the Iſle of *Hy*. § 2.

e Bed. Hiſt. III. 21. p. 219.

f *Ib.* & III. 24. p. 231.

After him, g *Tromhere ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick*; which *Tromhere* was a Religious man, and of Monaſtick Education, an Engliſh man by Nation, and of kin to *Oſwin* King of *Northumbria*, but h *brought up and Ordained by the Scots*: Theſe are *Bedes* words, who tells us there, that *i* he was Abbat of the Monaſtery of *Inget lingum*; which ſhews that by that Ordination he was only a Presbyter. But in another place, ſpeaking of his Succeſſion to *Ceollah*, *k* he ſaith he was *Ordained Biſhop by the Scots*. It appears that he had at leaſt two different Ordinations; of which one was to be a Prieſt, the other was to be a Biſhop. The Queſtion is, Whether the Scots that Ordained him both times, were themſelves only Presbyters; which queſtion, thô we cannot anſwer from *Beda* in this place, we ſhall clearly § 3.

g *Ibid.*

h III. 19. p. 219, 220.

i III 25. p. 232

k *Ibid.* III. 21. p. 220.

Chap. VI. § 3. resolve it from another place of *Bede* which will follow in the next Section.

§ 4. The *East Saxons* were Converted by means of their King *Sigebert*, who being to visit his friend King *Oswy* in *Northumbria*, was by him persuaded to be a Christian, and Baptized by Bishop *Finan* before-mentioned. But *Sigebert* desiring King *Oswy* to give him some Teachers to Convert and Baptize his People, *Oswy* sent to the Province of the *Middle Angles* for *Cedd*, one of the three Presbyters that with *Diuma* had Converted that People, as is before-mentioned. This *Cedd* was an English man, brought up at *Lindisfarn*, saith *Bede*; *l* who addeth, that he was one of four Brothers, that were all of them eminent Presbyters; and two of them, namely this *Cedd* and his Brother *Chad*, came to have the degree of *High Priest*, that is, chief *Bishop* in the Saxon Translation. Of *m* *Chad* it will be shewn that he was Ordain'd Bishop of *York* by *n* *Wini* Bishop of *Winchester* and two British Bishops.

l *Bed.* Hist. III. 23. p. 236.

m Page 227.

n III. 28.

Biſhops. Of this *Cedd* it cannot be doubted that he was a Biſhop; for *Bede* calls him ſo ten times *o* in one Chapter, and near a hundred times in his Book; but it may be doubted whether Biſhops Ordained him, becauſe he is *p* ſaid to have been *Ordained by the Scots*: for if the Scots were govern'd only by Presbyters, then *Cedd* was made a Biſhop by Presbyters, which is all that our Adverſaries would have. But what if *Cedd* was Ordained by no other than Biſhops? Then *Bedes* ſaying any one was *Ordained by the Scots*, will not argue that he was Ordained by Scottiſh Preſbyters: nay it will argue the contrary, unleſs our Adverſaries can bring at leaſt one inſtance of a Scottiſh Ordination by Presbyters,

o III. 14.

p III. 25. p. 234.

§ 5. But how far they are miſtaken in *Cedds* Ordination, it will ſufficiently appear in the proceſs of the *Eaſt Saxons* Converſion. For when *Cedd*, and another Presbyter whom *Oſwy* ſent with him, had gone over all the Countries and gathered a great Congregation to the Lord, ſaith *Bede* a; it hapned once that

a *Bed.* Hiſt. III. 22. p. 222.

Chap. VI. § 5. *Cedd* returned home into *Northumbria*, and came to the Church of *Lindisfarn* to ſpeak with *Finan* the Biſhop. Which *Finan*, when he found that the work of the Goſpel had proſpered with him, made him Biſhop of the Nation of the *Eaſt Saxons* b *having called to himſelf two other Biſhops for the Miniſtry of Ordination.* So that *Finan*, and thoſe two other Biſhops, (three in all, according to the *Nicen* Canon) were thoſe Scots by whom *Cedd* c was Ordain'd, as c *Bede* ſaith elſewhere. This deſerves to be taken notice of by our Adverſaries, and conſidered in other places where *Bede* ſpeaks of Scottiſh Ordinations: they may ſee that if he had explained himſelf (which he could not foreſee would be neceſſary) his words, where he ſpeaks of Scots that Ordained, were to be underſtood of no other Ordainers but Biſhops. And for ſuch as were Ordained Biſhops by them, it appears what kind of Biſhops they were, by that Power which they received and exerciſed. For thus d he *d* ſaith. When *Cedd* had received

b *Ibid.* p. 223.

c *Ibid.* p. 234.

d *Ibid.* p. 223.

Ved the Degree of Epiſcopacy, he return'd to his Province, where e at *London* he had *his See*; and *fulfilling the work he had begun, with greater Authority* (greater than what he had before when he was a Presbyter only; for, as it follows, he did now what he could not do before) f *he made Churches in ſeveral places, he Ordained Prieſts and Deacons to help him in the Word of Faith, and in the Miniſtry of Baptizing.* For that Miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments, Prieſts and Deacons might ſuffice, though not for the before-mention'd Miniſtry of Ordination. Farther, g *Bede* tells us, that when one liv'd in unlawful Marriage, and the Biſhop could not hinder him, nor mend him; *he Excommunicated him*, and *Commanded all that would hear him*, not to enter into the mans houſe, or to eat of his meat: To ſhew what he means by ſaying *all that would hear him*, *Bede* addeth, that the King made light of this Command, and being invited, went and dined with the Excommunicated perſon; but he dearly paid for his Dinner, be

e *Bed.* Hiſt. III. 26. p. 239.

f *Ibid.* p. 223.

g *Ibid.* p. 224.

Chap. VI. § 6. ing kill'd by him before he went out of the house.

Having shewn that this *Cedd* had a Brother, who was also a Bishop; and having met with a doubt that hath been rais'd upon a passage in *Bede*, which I have quoted concerning his Ordination; to illustrate that Passage, I shall speak of this matter more particularly, tho it doth not properly belong to my Business. The person that I spoke of was *Chad*, who was Ordained to be Bishop of *York*; but left it to *Wilfrid*, and was afterward [h] Bishop of *Litchfield*, where he was more famously known by being the Founder of that See. *Bede* [i] saith of this *Chad*, that when King *Oswy* had designed him to be Bishop of *York*, he went first into *Kent*, to be Ordain'd by *Deusdedit* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But finding that he was dead before his coming thither, he went to *Wini*, who was then Bishop of *Winchester*. And that *Wini* Consecrated him Bishop, *taking in two British Bishops to assist him in the Ordination*; *which* British Bishops *kept Easter, not according*

h *Bed.* Hist. IV. 3. p. 261.

i *Bed.* Hist. III. 28. p. 247.

cording to the Canonical Manner; from the fourteenth to the one and twentieth Moon, for except that Wini *there was not then any Biſhop Canonically Ordained in all* Britain. Here *Bede* ſaith that *Chad* was made Biſhop by three of the ſame Order; namely one Saxon Biſhop that had been Ordained in *France*, and two Britiſh Biſhops whom he got to aſſiſt him. This was while the Britiſh Church was not in Communion with the Roman, and therefore I might have * produced it as an inſtance of the Britiſh way of Church Government and Ordination. But I did not take all the Inſtances I could find, but as many as I thought were ſufficient. They that * oppoſe the Primitive Government by Biſhops with that Monkiſh Dream of *Kelledees* or *Culdees* being more to ſeek for Proofs than I am, *k* have hoped to do ſome ſervice to their Cauſe with the laſt words of this Quotation: As if, becauſe the Scottiſh Biſhops are ſaid to have been *Ordained not Canonically*, therefore it muſt be thought that they were Or-

* Chap. III. § 7. & 9.

* Chap. VII. § 1, &c.

k *Selden* Præf. ante X. Scriptores Hiſt. Angl.

Chap. VI. ordained by only Presbyters. Indeed if they had been so, that had been *Uncanonical* beyond all example.

§ 6.

§ 7. But then what were those British Bishops whom *Wini* call'd in to assist him at this Ordination? were they uncanonical upon the same account of their being Ordained by only Presbyters? was the British Church-Government by *Culdees* too? that is news concerning which the Prophet *Hector* had no Revelation. Or was the Saxon Bishop of *Dunwich*, who was then living, and (for ought that appears) then in *Britain*, Ordain'd by only Presbyters, and therefore Ordain'd not Canonically? Perhaps he was not thought of by them that made this Allegation: and therefore I shall shew that he was then living, and that he had been Ordain'd by an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and yet he was not Ordain'd Canonically. The consequence is plain. For if the Ordinations of all the Bishops then in *Britain*, except *Wini*, were accounted by *Bede* to be uncanonical; He must mean it of the British and

and Saxon Biſhops, as well as the Scots. And therefore it cannot be proved from this place of *Bede* that the Scottiſh Ordinations were only by Presbyters, unleſs the Britiſh and Saxon Ordinations were ſo too. So that either this place proves too much, or elſe it makes nothing for their purpoſe.

§ 8. But to put this matter out of diſpute, I ſhall ſhew plainly what it was that was accounted uncanonical in all their Ordinations: and what it was that *Bede* intended in this place, which indeed particularly concerned the Britiſh and Scottiſh Churches.

Firſt then it was accounted an uncanonical Ordination of a Biſhop that was made by fewer than three Biſhops. It was particularly againſt the fourth Canon of the firſt *Nicen* Council; the obſervation whereof had been often enjoyn'd by other Councils, and it was particularly given in charge by Pope *Gregory* in his Anſwers to *Auſtin* the Monk, which k *Bede* having brought into his Hiſtory, might well refer to, in delivering this as both

k *Bed.* Hiſt. 27. p. 85.

Chap. VI. § 8. both his Judgment and *Chads* alſo before him. They acknowledging the Pope as the Head of their Communion, might very well judg an Ordination of a Biſhop uncanonical, if it were made by fewer Biſhops than were required by that Canon. And yet, as *l* it appears by ſundry inſtances, the Britiſh and Scottiſh Biſhops were many of them Ordained only by one Biſhop. They might be all ſo at that time. And whereas, beſide *Wini*, there was then but one Saxon Biſhop; it appears that he was Ordained in like manner. That Saxon Biſhop was *Brightgils*, ſurnam'd *Boniface*, Biſhop of the *Eaſt Angles*, whoſe See was at *Domoceaſter*, or *Dunwich*, from whence it is ſince remov'd to *Norwich*. This *Boniface*, being a Kentiſh man, was *m* Ordained Biſhop by *Honorius* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and was Biſhop of *Dunwich*, (as *m Bede* tells us) ſeventeen years; then he died about the time of *Theodors* coming over into *England*, which was (as *n Bede* tells us) in the year 669, *May* 27. But *Chad's* Ordinati-

l *Uſher* Relig. of *Ireland*, c. 8. p. 78.

m *Bed.* Hiſt. III. 20. p. 217.

n Ibid. IV. 2.

dination was ſoon after the death of Archbiſhop *Deus dedit*, which was in the year 664, *July* 28. (as o *Bede* alſo tells us) which was at leaſt four years before the coming of *Theodor*. And therefore *Boniface* was living at the time of *Chads* Ordination, and was then a Biſhop; though in *Chads*, or *Bedes* judgment, he was not Ordain'd Canonically, as appears by thoſe words, that *not one in all* Britain *was* ſo at that time except *Wini*. To judg what the fault was in *Boniface*'s Ordination, it will not be difficult, if we conſider that his Ordainer, Archbiſhop *Honorius*, had at that time no more but one Biſhop under him, that was *p Ithamar* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. So that (without fetching a Biſhop out of *France*, which was unuſual) he could not have the number preſcrib'd by the Canon to aſſiſt him; and therefore it is moſt probable that in Ordaining of *Boniface* he had no aſſiſtance at all, but did the work ſingly by himſelf; which was againſt the Canons that were then in force in the Saxon Church.

o Ibid. IV. 1.

p *Bed.* Hiſt. III. 14. p. 198.

But

Chap. VI. § 8. But for *Wini*, q *Bede* tells us, he was Ordain'd in *France*, where were Bishops enough to Ordain him according to the Canon: and there is no reason to doubt that they observed the Canons in his Ordination.

q *Bed.* Hist. III. 7. p. 177.

§ 9. But that which more particularly concerns the case in *Bede*, and the matter before us, is the irregularity of Ordination by Bishops that were in Schism. That was provided against by the eighth Canon of the first *Nicen* Council; which was particularly applied to the British and Scottish Bishops by Archbishop *Theodor* in the eighth of his *Capitula*, in r these words, *They which have been Ordained by the Bishops of the Scots, or Britains, who are not united to the Catholick Church in their Easter and their Tonsure, let them be Confirmed again by a Catholick Bishop with Imposition of Hands.* *Bede* might well have this Canon in his eye when he writ this, being led to it by the great veneration that he had for that Archbishop; and it appears that he thought of it by the

r Concil. Tom. VI. Col. 1877. Edit. *Labb.* *Qui ordinati sunt à Scotorum aut Britonum Episcopis, qui in Paschâ & in Tonsurâ adunati Ecclesiæ Catholicæ non sunt, iterum ab Episcopo Catholico manûs impositione confirmentur.*

the ſ conſequence of his Writing in the place before-mentioned, if the word FOR have any reſpect to that which went immediately before it. It farther appears by *t t* that paſſage in his Hiſtory, where ſpeaking of the Archiepiſcopal Viſitation of *Theodor*, (who being made Archbiſhop by the Pope, was ſure to take all advantage againſt them that were not in his Communion;) *Bede* ſaith, that this *Theodor*, coming to *Chad*, told him, that he was *not rightly Conſecrated*, I ſuppoſe, becauſe Britiſh Biſhops had a hand in his Conſecration; and yet, being unwilling to let him lay down his Biſhoprick, *u* he *anew Conſummated his Ordination the Catholick way.* What was that way of Conſummating his Ordination? it was (ſaith *Bede*) by *Impoſition of Hands by a Catholick Biſhop*, which was the ſame way that he preſcribed, as hath been ſhewn out of his *Capitula*, and the ſame that was ordered by the *Nicen* Canon abovementioned.

ſ *Bed.* Hiſt. III. 28. p. 247.

t t Ibid. IV. 2. p. 259.

Non fuiſſe ritè Conſecratum.

u *Bed.* Hiſt. IV. 2. p. 260.

But

Chap. VI. § 10.

But to put this matter quite out of doubt, I shall set down the same things as they are related by *w Stephen Heddius*, who was Chaplain to *Wilfrid*, and writ an account of his Life. He saith, that after *Colmans* departure, the Kings of *Northumbria* would have *Wilfrid* be their Bishop in his stead. So *Wilfrid* being Elected into the place, desir'd the Kings to give him leave to go into *France* for his Ordination. His words *x* were these, *It is to be considered how I may come to the Episcopal degree without the offence of any Catholick man: For there are here in* Britain *many Bishops, of whom I would not accuse any one; thô in truth I know* y *that they are either* Quartadecimani, *as the Britains and Scots, or they are such as have been Ordained by them, and that the Apostolick See hath neither received them into Communion, nor them that consent to Schismaticks.* (Here is a plain reason why *Bede* said, *except that*

w *Bed.* Hist. IV. 2. p. 253. mentions this *Heddi.*

x *Steph. Hedd.* in vita *wilfr.* c. 12.

y *Quòd aut XIV anni sunt, ut* Brittones *&* Scotti, *ab illis sunt Ordinati.* Thus the M. S. Copy in that noble Library of Sir *J. Cotton*, and out of it Bishop *Usher*, in his Religion of *Ireland*. I wonder that most learned man did not hit on the true reading, *Quod aut Quartadecimani sunt, ut Brittones & Scotti, aut ab illis sunt Ordinati.*

Wini

Wini *there was not then any Biſhop canonically ordain'd in all* Britain; *Wilfrid* had ſaid the ſame thing before him in other words;) *and therefore* (ſaith he) *I deſire you to ſend me into* France, *where there live many Catholick Biſhops, that I may be made Biſhop without any offence of the Apoſtolick See.* Upon this he had leave, and ſo went into *France.* But when he did not return ſo ſoon as was expected, King *Oſwin* let another intrude into his See, (*h*) *Being thereunto moved by them who ſided with the* Quartadecimani *againſt the rule of the Apoſtolick See:* And *they ordain'd* the Servant of God *Ceadda*, a moſt religious and admirable Doctour that came out of *Ireland*, and without *Wilfrid*'s knowledge they put him into the Epiſcopal See of the City of *York*, *unlearnedly and againſt the Canons.* After this *Heddius* tells how *Wilfrid* (having been ordain'd in *France*) came and liv'd three years at *Ripon:* And how after thoſe three years *Theodor* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* came thither *to York* in Viſitation, *bringing with*

(*h*) Ib. c. 14. *Ab his qui Quartadecimanam partem contra Apoſtolicæ Sedis Regulam ſibi elegerunt.*

Chap. VI. § 10.

him the Statutes of the Apoſtolick See, from which he was ſent. And at his firſt coming into that Countrey, (ſaith (*i*) *Heddius*) he was informed by true Witneſſes of a thing that was ill done *againſt the Canons*; that a Biſhop Robber-like had preſum'd to catch up the See of another Biſhop: (Here was another Uncanonicalneſs which was particularly in *Chad*'s Ordination, that he intruded into a See, into which another had been elected;) and *Theodor*, taking it hainouſly, ordered Biſhop *Ceadda* to be depos'd from the See which was not his. But (ſaith (*k*) *Heddius*) the true and moſt meek Servant of God, *then fully underſtanding his ſin*, both in his Miſordination, *being ordain'd by Quartadecimani*, and in his intruſion *into another man's See*, humbly confeſſed, and made amends, according to the judgment of the Biſhops; and with his conſent put in Biſhop *Wilfrid* into his own See of the City of *York*; and afterward *Wilfrid* got *Lichfield* for him. Thus far *Heddius*. Out of whoſe relation the Reader may eaſily

(*i*) Ib. c. 15. *Rem contra Canones malè geſtam à veris teſtibus audivit.*

(*k*) Ib. *Tunc peccatum Ordinandi à Quartadecimanis in ſedem alterius plenè intelligens.*

ſily ſee what the *Uncanonicalneſs* was that *Bede* ſpeaks of; and what need there was of a good imagination to find out any tolerable colour for *Presbyterian* Ordination in his Writings.

§ 11. There is evidence enough on the contrary, that theſe *Scotiſh* Ordinations were by Biſhops. I have ſhewn that in ſome places we are told ſo expreſly; where 'tis * ſaid, that ſuch and ſuch were ordain'd by *the Metropolitan Biſhop*, together with *other Biſhops* that were *called for the Miniſtery of Ordination*. I have † ſhewn that thoſe are to explain other places, where we reade of *Scots ordaining*, without expreſs mention of their Office or Quality. I have ſhewn that *Bede* uſes thoſe very words where he ſpeaks of Epiſcopal Ordination. * § 5. † § 4.

The clearing of this not onely proves what we affirm, but takes away all *occaſion* from the Adverſary. For they that write on the other hand ſufficiently ſhew that it is from thoſe words, of *Scots ordaining*, that they have all the colour that they pretend from Anti-

Chap. VI. § 11. quity to prove that ever there was in theſe Churches an *Ordination by Presbyters onely.*

And that theſe whom I have mentioned, were not onely *called Biſhops*, but were really ſuch as are ſetled now by *Law* in theſe Churches, I have ſhewn by their doing thoſe Acts which they never did before they were made Biſhops, and which no man hath yet ſhewn (or I believe can ſhew) have been done by any mere Presbyter: namely, their forming Churches, their ordaining of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, their exerciſing an authority over the inferiour Clergy, their excommunicating of Offenders, their commanding obedience to their Cenſures. I have ſhewn that all theſe Powers were exerciſed by thoſe Biſhops that were of *Scotiſh Ordination.* And I am well aſſured there can be no inſtance given of the like things perform'd in theſe Churches by any that were not really Biſhops. So that, for ought that appears hitherto, I have proved that which I undertook; namely that the Ancient

and

and primitive Biſhops were no other than ſuch as are now eſtabliſht by Law in theſe Kingdoms.

CHAP. VII.

A Confutation of that Opinion, that before there were Biſhops in Scotland, *that Church was governed by a ſort of Monks, called* Culdees, *that were onely Presbyters.*

§ 1. HAving given as full an account of the Ancient Government of theſe Churches as I could gather out of the Writers that liv'd in thoſe Times, I ſhould not need to add any thing more, if it were not for that Monkiſh dream of an ancient Church-Government in *Scotland* by *Presbyters*. This conceit, I ſuppoſe, might proceed from a miſtake of a paſſage or two in *Bede*; whereof one hath been * conſider'd, the other I ſhall give account of afterwards. The firſt Authour of it was one that was much given to ſuch things, *John* of *Fordon*, who lived in the fourteenth Century, and then writ the (*l*) *Scoti-Chro-*

* Ch. IV. § 2. p. 84.

(*l*) *Scoti-Chron.* endeth *Anno* 1360. ſaith *Selden*, præf. ad 10. Script. § 19, 20.

Chap. VII. § 1.

ti-Chronicon; a Book that hath not been thought worth the printing. Out of two or three lines of this Book there hath been a formal ſtory made up by (*m*) others, which hath been of great uſe to them that write againſt Epiſcopacy, and eſpecially of late to Mr. *Baxter*, who hath taken occaſion from hence to affirm as undoubted Truth divers things that never were in the World.

(*m*) *Major, Boethius, Leſley, Buchanan, Demſter*, &c.

1. He tells us of a ſort of men called *Culdees*, that *firſt guided the affairs of Religion in* Scotland *long before the coming of* Palladius; and yet *were no Biſhops*, but *Monks and Presbyters*.

2. He tells us, that theſe *Culdees* choſe ſome few among themſelves *to be as Governours to the reſt*, whom *Writers* called *Scotorum Epiſcopos*, the Biſhops of the *Scots*. (But, by the way, the eldeſt of theſe *Writers* was that Monk of *Fordon*, that lived above a thouſand years after.)

3. He tells us, that theſe new-found Biſhops of the *Scots* had onely the Name of Biſhops, about which

which he will not *contend* with us, (a great favour.)

4. He ſays, that afterward *Palladius* began *a higher ſort of Biſhops*, but *the* Culdees *ſtill kept up the greater part againſt him.*

5. He ſays that *Columbanus his Monaſtery in the Iſle of* Hy *reſtored the* Culdees *ſtrength*; and the *Monks out of that Iſland* were *the moſt prevailing Clergy of* Scotland; *who had no proper Epiſcopal Ordination*, but *bare Election and Ordination of* Presbyters.

§ 2. To ſhew what little truth there is in all theſe late fancies, I think there needs not be ſaid any more than I have ſaid already, and proved out of the moſt ancient and authentick Writers. From them I have ſhewn, that before *Palladius* his time there were no Chriſtians in *Scotland*, nor no *Scots* there a long while after; that his miſſion was into *Ireland*, and not into *Scotland*; and that we have no aſſurance that ever he came into either of them; much leſs that he made any Biſhop there, or any Chriſtian: Likewiſe that *Columba*

Chap. VII. § 2. found no *Culdees* at *Hy*, nor no Chriſtians; and that he and his Monks, who were the onely Clergy in that part of *Scotland* where he had to doe, knew no other Ordination but Epiſcopal, and had a Biſhop among them for that purpoſe.

Theſe things being proved out of all the Writers that we have of thoſe Times, it appears that all thoſe aſſertions to the contrary have no real foundation, but are in truth, and ought to be conſidered by Learned Men, as the figments of thoſe idle Brains that brought Romances into Church-Hiſtory.

But becauſe ſome are not willing to be beat out of any Errour, but will rather catch up any thing to defend it that cometh in their way, I ſhall take the pains for their ſakes (though I know no need otherwiſe) to ſearch into the bottom of this matter. I ſhall ſhew,

1. That the *Culdees* are not mentioned by any Writer that lived within five hundred years of *Palladius* his time, nor are not ſaid to have been in his Age, by any

that

that lived within a thouſand years after him.

2. That Monkery was not yet in the World, much leſs in this Iſland, at that time from which they bring down theſe *Culdees*.

3. That the firſt Monks in *Scotland* were of no other ſort than thoſe in *France*, and other Countries, where the Church was wholly governed by Biſhops.

4. That commonly their Monaſteries were the Schools and Univerſities of thoſe Times, where Youth were brought up and fitted to be put into holy Orders; and then being choſen and recommended by their Superiours, were ordained by proper Biſhops; whether fetcht from abroad, or reſiding in the Monaſtery for that purpoſe.

5. That *Columba* found nothing in *Scotland to be reſtored*, as they imagine; but began a converſion there, and founded a Monaſtery to carry it on, where his Monks (as many as took Orders) were ordained by Biſhops properly ſo called, as the Monks were in all other Countries.

Having

Chap. VII. § 3.

Having proved theſe five things, which are enough to overthrow all thoſe Fancies, I ſhall farther explain that place in *Bede*, upon a miſtake whereof, I believe, this whole Fabrick was rais'd by late Monkiſh Hiſtorians.

§ 3. Firſt, to ſhew that there is no truth in all that Scheme of an ancient Church-Government in *Scotland*, which is imagined to have been in a ſort of *Presbyters* called *Culdees*; I am to ſhew what thoſe *Culdees* were, and that they were men of another Age, long after the time of *Palladius*.

What they were, their Name ſufficiently ſheweth. For they were called *Kelledei*, or in the old Scotch, *Kyldees*, (as I ſuppoſe) from *Cylle*, which ſignifies a Cell, as well in the *Welſh* or old *Britiſh* Tongue, as in the *Scotiſh* or *Iriſh*. From hence by (*n*) addition of *Tee* (or *Dee* in compoſition) which ſignifies a Houſe, the word *Kyldee* ſignifies a Houſe of ſuch Cells. And thus as *Columba* was called by the *Iriſh* (*o*) *Columbcylle*; that is *Columb* of the Cell; ſo all thoſe that lived

(*n*) As *Mynach* being a Monk, *Mynachdee* is a Monaſtery, in the *Welſh* Language.

(*o*) *Bed.* hiſt. V. 10. p. 402.

lived in ſuch kind of Houſes might be, and I doubt not were, called by their Names with the addition of *Kyldee*, that is, ſuch a one of the Cell-houſe.

As for the word *Culdee*, it is of a much later Edition. I do not remember that I have read it in any Authour before the time of *Giraldus Cambrenſis*. Then it was a very uſual thing to find out Latin derivations for thoſe words of which men did not know the Original. And thus the *Kyldees* or *Kylledei* came to be called *Culdei* or *Colidei*; that is, the Worſhippers of God; being ſuch as ſpent their whole time, or a great part of it, in devotion. Either way it appears that they were Monks, and that I know will be eaſily granted me.

ad annum 1200 ut infra.

But then the Queſtion is, concerning their Antiquity. And for this, we muſt not look ſo high as any Writer I have mentioned in my Hiſtory of Biſhops. My lateſt Authours were *Bede* and *Ninnius*. But *Bede* writ in the year 730. and *Selden*, who is (for ought I know) the

Chap. VII. § 3.

firſt that brought this inſtance of the *Culdees* into this Controverſie, yet acknowledgeth that in *Bede* there is no mention of them. Nor are they mentioned in *Ninnius*, who writ about 120 years after. I ſhould add they are not mentioned for ſome hundreds of years after *Bede*: but becauſe I may be miſtaken, I ſhall name all thoſe places where I find they are mentioned by any Writer till within theſe 200 years.

Firſt in *Scotland* we reade of no *Culdees* that ever were at *Hy*, or in any other place where the *Scots* anciently dwelt. But as oft as they are mention'd, we find them ſtill at St. *Andrews*, which was in the Countrey of the South-*Picts*; and they are not ſaid to have been there, till it had been many years the See of a Dioceſan Biſhop. The See was removed hither from *Abernethy*, as the (*p*) *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians tell us, by *Kenneth* II. who died in the year 854.

(*p*) *Buchanan. rum Scotic. lib. 6. fol. 60. l. 20.*

About a hundred years after this, namely in the year 943. *Conſtantine* the Third, King of the *Scots*

Scots in *Scotland*, (*q*) is ſaid to have left his Kingdom, and become Abbat of the *Kildees*, or *Killidees* of St. *Andrews*.

(*q*) *Uſſer.* prim. p. 659. from the *Scotiſh* Chron.

In the year 1108. *Turgot*, Prior of *Durham*, was made Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and continued ſeven years. *In his days all the right of the* Keledei *throughout the whole Kingdom of* Scotland *paſt into the Biſhoprick of Saint* Andrews. This is taken by (*r*) Mr. *Selden* out of *Durham* Hiſtory, which he ſaith, is much later than *Turgot*'s time. But whereas Mr. *Selden* fanſies ſtrange things of that *Right of the* Keldees here mention'd, I gueſs it might be the right of confirming the Elections of all the Biſhops in *Scotland*. This had been done by them as being the Primat's Dean and Chapter; but was now taken from them, and perform'd by the Primate himſelf. For this Interpretation, I think there is ground enough in the account that (*ſ*) a *Culdee* of St. *Andrew*'s has given of the Foundation of his Church; where he ſays, that the Archbiſhoprick of all *Scotland* belongs to that

(*r*) Præf. ad 10. Scriptores. *Uſſer.* de prim. p. 1032.

(*ſ*) *Uſſer.* de Prim. p. 651.

Chap. VII. § 3. that City, and that no Biſhop in *Scotland* ought to be ordain'd without the counſel of the Seniours of that place. But this by the way.

Uſſer. de prim. p. 659. In the year 1272. the *Keldees* of St. *Andrews* are mentioned by *Silegrave* in his Catalogue of the Religious Houſes in *Britain.*

Uſſer. Ib. In the year 1297. *November* the third, the Canons of St. *Andrews* elected *William Lamberton* Biſhop; the *Keldees* there oppoſed the Election, and their Provoſt *Aulmin* appeal'd to the Pope: But the Pope approved the Election, and ſo for the future the *Keldees* loſt all their right they had before, ſaith our Authour, meaning (I ſuppoſe) all their right of electing the Archbiſhop, which belonging to them before, as being the Dean and Chapter of that See, (as the Abbats and Monks of St. *Auſtin's* were at *Canterbury,*) after this, in their place at St. *Andrews* there were brought in Canon Regulars, to whoſe Prior was given the honour of preceding all the Abbats of *Scotland*, that is, as I take it, they were made the Primat's Dean and Chapter

Chapter for the future. This is all the credible account that I can find of any *Culdees* in *Scotland*.

In *Ireland* we reade of *Culdees* at *Armagh*, who ſeem in like manner to have been anciently the Dean and Chapter of that Church: But afterward they alſo were fain to give place to Monks of a later inſtitution, and yet were ſuffered to continue in the inferiour quality of Vicars Choral. So Biſhop (*t*) *Uſher* ſaith, the Vicars Choral of *Armagh*, (and the like in the [Collegiat] Church of *Cluanyniſh* were called *Colidei* till our remembrance; and their Chief, who was called their *Prior*, ſerv'd in the place of *Præcentor*. Biſhop (*u*) *Uſher* alſo produces a Sentence that was paſt by an Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, in the year 1445. and that (as it is ſaid in the Sentence it ſelf,) upon ſearch of the ancient Chronologies of the holy Fathers, and of the Year-books of the Archbiſhops his Predeceſſours; that the Office of a Prior, or an inferiour *Colidee*, ſhould not be accounted a Cure

(*t*) *Uſſer.* prim. p. 637.

(*u*) *Uſſer.* Ib.

Chap. VII. § 3.

Cure of Souls; but that one might hold any Benefice with one of theſe Offices, provided that he kept his due reſidence in the Church of *Armagh*.

* *Uſſer.* de primord. p. 637.

Biſhop * *Uſher* hath alſo a Pope's *Breve* that paſt in the year 1447. containing, that the Priory of the College of Secular Prieſts, called *Colidei*, was not a Benefice, but a ſimple office, and *Sine-cure*.

Beſides theſe we reade of no other *Culdees*, but thoſe mentioned by *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, who lived about the year 1200. He † ſpeaks of the *Colidei* in *Bardſey*, a little Iſland in *North-Wales*, who were the moſt religious old Monks in his Age; and alſo || ſpeaks of the like in an Iſland in *Tiperary* in *Ireland*, who there devoutly ſerv'd in the Chapel.

† *Girald.* Itin. *Cambr.* II. 6.

|| Id. Topogr. *Hibern.* II. 4.

Theſe are all the Writers in whom we have any mention of the *Culdees*; and this is all that I can find of them in any Authour, before the year of *Chriſt* 1500. that is, till about a thouſand years after the death of *Palladius*. And as none of theſe Authours makes them

them live near his time, much leſs (as ſome would have it) long before his coming into *Scotland*: So neither does any of them ſpeak of their guiding the affairs of Religion, either there, or in thoſe other Countreys where they lived. If they did, we might expect it would have been rather in *Ireland* than any where elſe; for there they made the greateſt figure; but there is nothing ſaid of their governing there by any of theſe Authors. So that hitherto we have nothing to prove either their Antiquity or their Authority in the Church.

§. 4. But they that aſſert theſe things of the *Culdees* have Authors no doubt for as much as they tell us concerning them. They have Authors indeed for as much as concerns our Queſtion, but they are ſuch kind of Authors as are leſs to be believed than they themſelves. For who would not take Mr. *Seldens* bare word for things that paſt in ancient times, before all them that he quotes in any place where he writes on this ſubject? They were near as late Writers as

VII. 4. himſelf, and knew leſs of the Ancients than he did. I may reaſonably ſay he knew four Books to one that they knew. And he knew this ſo well, that he would never have ſtoopt to ſuch Authors, but that in all his reading, he had no other to defend a Cauſe that he was reſolv'd to maintain. Mr. *Selden* very well knew that in this Learned Age no wiſe Man will believe any thing of Ancient times, but what he ſees proved out of very good Authors. For want of ſuch, he took the Monk of *Fordon*, and ſuch others, which thô they were of no Authority, yet for the Cauſe that he had undertaken they were the beſt that could be had.

But his Authors, for their parts, were Men that had no ſuch awe upon them, They were ſecured againſt their Readers by the groſs darkneſs, in which they lived; and therefore, without the aſſiſtance of Books, they could tell of any thing that paſt a hundred years before they were born, as well as if it had happen'd within their own know-

knowledge. If that was a happineſs of theirs, that they could ſo eaſily impoſe on their Readers, much good may it do them that have Readers that will be ſatisfied with any thing that cometh from ſuch Authors.

To conſider them particularly I am to begin with *John* of *Fordon* before-mention'd; whom, till I ſee an Ancienter Author, I ſhall take to be the firſt that mentions any Church-Government in *Scotland*, before Epiſcopacy.

This dreaming Monk among other ſtrange things, was pleas'd to diſcover this, (for the honour of his Order no doubt) that I *before the coming of* Palladius *the Scots were taught and governed by Monks or Prieſts only*, therein *following the way of the Primitive Church*. For making the Scots to have been Chriſtians before the coming of *Palladius*, he might have ſome kind of colour from thoſe words of *Bede* before-mention'd, where he ſaith that *Palladius was ſent to the Scots that believed in Chriſt*. It appears that he under-

[1] Scotichron. III. 8.

VII. 4: ſtood from thoſe words of *Bede*, that before the coming of *Palladius* into *Scotland*, there were ſome of that Nation that were Chriſtians, thô not the body of the Nation. And that theſe Chriſtians were taught and govern'd by Monks or Prieſts only, and that this was the way of the Primitive Church.

Theſe things might be true, for ought any man knew that underſtood ſo little of Antiquity as they did that liv'd in thoſe days. Nay who could tell then but that the Scots were ſeated in this Iſland long before Chriſts time? though now we know there were none till ſome Ages after the death of *Palladius*. But then the contrary was believ'd, as appears from that Monkiſh Hiſtorian.

Therefore it is not ſtrange to find the ſame thing ſaid again by *John Major* the *Sorboniſt*. For he alſo *m* ſaith, *before the coming of* Palladius *hither, the Scots were taught by Prieſts and Monks without Biſhops*. By ſaying *hither* he meant into *Scotland*; where as yet there were no Scots inhabiting, and

m *Major* hiſt. Scot. II. 2.

and whither *Palladius* was not ſent, and 'tis a chance if ever he came thither. But what was all this to *Fordon*, or *Major*? One writ what came in his head, and for ought the other could tell, it might be true.

But then next comes *Hector Boethius*, who not only averrs the ſame thing that thoſe Authors had ſaid, without naming them; but like *Hector* himſelf, he ventures farther into the dark, and charges beyond all his company. He was the firſt (for ought I know) that found that theſe Prieſts and Monks were *Culdees*, whom he makes to have been there in *Scotland*, above 150 years before there were Chriſtians in that Countrey. Theſe are his words, by which Learned men will ſoon judge of his Authority; ſpeaking of the times of *Decius*, and *Aurelian*, the perſecuting Emperors, *n* ſaith he, *our People began at that time* (that is about the year 263, ſaith *o Blondel*,) *moſt ſtudiouſly to embrace the Doctrine of Chriſt* (which was there at that time for ought he

n *Hect. Boeth.* Scot. hiſt. l. 6. fol. 95. l. 39. &c.

o *Blond.* Apol. pro *Hieron.* p. 315.

VII. 4. knew) *and this they did by the conduct and authority of certain* Monks, *who* (*because they applied themselves diligently to Preaching, and were frequent in Prayers,*) *were call'd by the Inhabitants* Cultores Dei: *and that name took so among the common People* (who it seems all understood Latin) *that all Priests, till almost our times, were commonly call'd* Culdei, *that is* Cultores Dei, *without any distinction.* He goeth on, and tells us more news; which, I think, he was the first that discovered. He saith, *they chose by common Vote among themselves a chief Priest, who had power in things belonging to God; and he for many years after was call'd, BISHOP OF THE SCOTS,* as (saith he) *it is deliver'd in our Annals.* The same thing he saith again in *p* another place, where he hath all the rest that is quoted from him; *that* Palladius *was the first of all that were in holy Magistracy among the Scots, being created by the Pope; whereas before, by the Votes of the People, Chief Priests were taken out of the Monks and Culdees.* This is

p *Hect.* lb. 1. fol. 133. lin. 2.

all that I know he ſaith of this matter. For the proof that he makes, by the Scots *Annals* here mention'd, he can mean no ancienter than thoſe of Arch-Deacon *Veremundus*, for he acknowledges him in his Preface to be the Eldeſt that he had ſeen of the Scottiſh Writers. But *Veremundus* liv'd under *Malcolm* the third, in times of very groſs ignorance: So that unleſs he could ſee the farther for being ſo much in the dark, he could tell us little of things 800 years before his time.

The beſt is, that *Hector* had no need of his, or any other Teſtimony: for he could not only make Stories, but Authors too when he pleas'd. And why not? as well as *q* he could make a Biſhop of S. *Albans* Cloak. It was indeed *r* our *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth* that firſt turn'd the Cloak into a Man, and ſo prepared it for *Hector*'s Ordination. The word *Amphibalus*, which is Latin for a Shag-Cloak, and was uſed in that ſence in the Legend of S. *Alban*, our *Jeffrey* had the luck to miſtake for a proper name,

q *Hect. Botth.* l. 6.

r *Uſſer.* primord. p. 151, 156, 159, & 641.

VII. 4. and ſo joynd this *Amphibalus* with S. *Alban* as his Fellow-Martyr. Man or Cloak, *Hector* brings this *Amphibalus* into *Scotland* to King *Crathlint*, and there ordains it firſt Biſhop *ſ* of the Iſle of *Man*, and *s* ſeats his *Culdees* there with him; ſo that belike they were the Dean and Chapter to S. *Albans* Cloak. This was *Hector*'s own invention, unleſs any one can find it in *Veremundus*, whom he is pleaſed to quote for it. He tells us this happen'd at the time when *Conſtantius*, the Father of *Conſtantine*, cruelly perſecuted the Chriſtians in *Britain*; who never perſecuted them in his life, as *t* all thoſe Writers ſay that lived with him.

ſ Uſſer. Ib. p. 1082.

s So likewiſe *Buchanan.* hiſt. *Scot.* fol. 43. lin. 10.

t See before, ch. II. §. 1. p. 49.

§ 5. To prove *Hector Boethius* a man of no credit is needleſs, when ſo many *u* have done it to my hand; and therefore I forbear to ſhew it in other inſtances.

u See *Voſſ.* de hiſt. *Latinis.*

But of that which he ſays of Church-Government in *Scotland*, by a ſort of Monks called *Culdees* in thoſe early times, (a thing which Mr. *Selden* was pleaſed to vouch, chiefly upon the Authority of this Writer,)

Writer,) as there is no ground for it in any antienter Hiſtorian, ſo it will be ſufficiently diſproved by ſhewing that there were no Monks of any ſort in that Age in which he places his *Culdees*.

That indeed was it that ſtuck with *Demſter* the Jeſuit, one that was as well inclined to believe a Lye, as any man in his time; but this would not go down with him, thô he had *Hector's* word for it. He could not believe there were Monks under any of thoſe Emperors. For, ſaith w he, *At that time there were yet no Monks in the Weſtern Church, nor there could be none, the Monks Rule being formed long after*. And therefore, ſaith *Demſter*, *It follows they were all Canons Regular*: which I would ſoon grant him, if I were not well aſſured that, *at that time*, there were neither Scots, nor Chriſtians in that Countrey. But if there were no Monks, which he ingenuouſly confeſſes, that alone will ſuffice to prove that what was ſaid of the *Culdees*, was a meer Fable.

w *Uſſer.* de primord. p. 636.

Now

VII. 5. Now that there were no Monks in that Age, nor long after, for this we have more than *Demſter*'s Authority. He ſays, *There were none in the Weſtern Church*; he might have ſaid there were none in the World. For Monkery began in the Eaſtern parts, as all the Antients agree; and even there it was not till the time of *Diocletians* Perſecution. From thence it was long ere it came over into *Europe*, ſaith *x Sozomen.* It was firſt brought to *Rome* by *Athanaſius*, ſaith *y Baronius*; that is, *Athanaſius* firſt gave *z* them at *Rome* the relation of S. *Anthony*, and of the other *Egyptian* Monks.

x *Sozom.* hiſt. Eccl. III. 14.
y *Baron.* Ann. 340. n. 7.
z Particularly to *Marcella*, ſaith *Hierom.* Epiſt. 16.

But yet theſe were not Presbyters, (as the *Culdees* were ſaid to have been) but mere Lay-men; and ſo were all the Monks of thoſe times. The firſt that brought Monks into Holy Orders in *Europe* *a* was *Euſebius* of *Vercelles*, as alſo *b* *Baronius* obſerves.

From *Italy*, and particularly from *Milan*, it was that *c* S. *Martin* firſt brought that kind of life into *France*, where he ſeated himſelf

a *Ambroſ.* lib. 10. Epiſt. 82.
b *Baron.* Ann. 328. n. 22.
c *Sulp. Sever.* vit. *Martini.* c. 4.

self *d* first near St. *Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers*, afterward he was made Bishop of *Tours*, and then he founded a Monastery about two miles from that City, saith *e Sulpitius Severus*, who describes his form of Monastic life, and *f* saith his Monks increased to that number in his life-time, that there were near two thousand of them at his Funeral.

d Ib. c. 5.

e Ib. c. 7.

f Ib. Epist. ad *Bassulam.*

From this Plantation of S. *Martin*'s in *France*, no doubt it was that Monkery came over first into these Islands. We read indeed of *Pelagius* a Lay Monk, that was a *Britain*, and of his Disciple *Cœlestius* a *Scot*, g (that is an *Irish*-man, for there were no *Scots* but what lived in *Ireland* in that Age,) that these two were together at *Rome*, when their Heresie began, which appears to have been about the year of Christ, 400. Whether they entered into that course of life at *Rome*, or whether they took it up in the way thither, or brought it with them out of *Britain*, we have no information. But we read of no Monks in these Islands, before the

g *Usser* de primord. p. 210, 211.

VII. 5. the *Saxons* came hither, but what were ſet up by S. *Martin's* Diſciples. There ſeems to have been one Monaſtery among the *Britains* in *Canterbury*; for there was in K. *Ethelbert's* time, as *h Bede* tells us, an old Church that was dedicated to S. *Martin* while the *Romans* were yet living in *Britain*.

h *Bed.* hiſt. l. 26. p. 78.

Among the *South-Picts* there was a *i* Monaſtery of S. *Martin's* at *Whitern*, founded by S. *Ninian* in honour of that Saint; whom, thô I do not believe to have been his Uncle (which *k Hector* ſaith, I ſuppoſe, to make him as near of kin to the Saint as S. *Patric*,) yet I believe from *l* a better Authority that *Ninian* both ſaw S. *Martin*, and lived with him, in his travel to *Rome*.

i *Bed.* hiſt. III. 4. p. 169.

k *Hect. Boeth.* lib. 7.

l *Saxon*, Chron. Ann. 560.

Laſtly, among the *Scots* we cannot doubt the firſt Monks were S. *Martin's* Diſciples, when we remember that his Nephew S. *Patric* was the Apoſtle of that Nation. Of which *Patric* we are *m* told that his Uncle gave him the Monks habit, and Inſtitutes to obſerve which he devoutly received and con-

m *Uſſer.* de primord. p. 833, 834.

continued in them. So *Probus* tells us, in the life of S. *Patric*, that he brought the Christian faith and Monastic life into *Ireland*. From thence (as I have * shown, and shall further shew,) *Columba* brought it to the Isle of *Hy*, where *n* among the *Sunday*-Offices in his Monastery, there was wont to be a Prayer in commemoration of S. *Martin*, which I take to be in memory of him as the Founder of their Order. And I am something confirm'd in this opinion, by what I read in *o Marianus Scotus*, that the Irish Monks at *Colen*, in his time, made S. *Martin* the Patron of their Monastery.

* See above p. 63. & 98. *&c.*

n *Adamnan. vit. Columb.* III. 16.

o *Marian. Scot.* Anno 975.

I have carried the Original of these Monks as high as possibly I can, when I fetch their Original from S. *Martin*, who dyed in the year 401. And yet to make them begin so late in these Islands, is enough to shew that all that fabrick of Church-Government by *Culdees*, (who are placed as well before as after that time,) hath no foundation in antient History.

This

VII. 6. This will farther appear, if we consider what kind of men those Monks were that first lived in these Islands. If we look into their condition and course of life, it seems in all the Monasterys of these Islands to have been the same that was in the *French* Monasterys, as might be expected from them that came all from the same Original.

For their way of life, it was at first design'd for a retirement from the World. In that retirement they spent a great part of their time in Prayer, and Fasting, and Spiritual exercises. The rest of their time they bestowed in such works as were necessary for their subsistence; as namely in dressing their Gardens, in providing their meat drink and clothes. Afterward they turn'd over this bodily work to those of their own number, that were fit for nothing else; the better sort applying themselves to study, and that especially in the Scriptures. Thus Monasterys came to be the Nurseries of Religion and Learning, out of which, as I shall

ſhall afterwards ſhew, the Monks were taken into holy Orders by the Biſhops, who had thoſe Plantations in, or near, their Epiſcopal Sees for this purpoſe.

For their Offices of Prayer in theſe Monaſterys, they made uſe of S. *Martin*'s Liturgy; namely, that which was called *Gallorum curſus*; this *p* was uſed among them every where in *Britain*. In *Ireland q* they had another Liturgy, which was called *Curſus Scotorum*, as Biſhop *Uſher r* tells us from a Manuſcript of that Age.

p *Uſher* Relig. of *Iriſh*. c. 4. p. 34.
q *Uſſer*. de primord. p. 343.
r *Uſher* Relig. of *Ir*. p. 31.

For their Faſting, they obſerved the yearly time of *Lent*, and alſo the weekly Faſts of *Wedneſday* and *Friday* all the year, except betwixt *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*. This was the manner of *Aidan* and his Diſciples, as *Bede* particularly *s* informs us, who alſo gives a ſhort account of all their other Bodily and Spiritual exerciſes.

s *Bed*. hiſt. III. 5. & 25.

Theſe inſtances are enough to ſhew that the Scotiſh Monks, of whom we are ſpeaking, were like the other Monks in *France*, and in other Epiſcopal Countreys. I do not

VII. 6. not know wherein there can be ſhewn any difference between them.

§ 7. That theſe Monaſteries were the Schools and Univerſities of thoſe times, wherein men were bred up to Religion and Learning; this we find in many Inſtances. The moſt remarkable is that of the Monaſtery of *Bangor*, among the *Britains*, in which there were, as *t Bede* tells us, above two thouſand Perſons together in ſeven Colleges, of which none had fewer than three hundred Monks in it. *This we may believe by what we ſee*, ſaith *b* an Hiſtorian that writ four hundred years after *Bede*'s time; *We ſee*, ſaith he, *ſo many half-ruined Walls of Churches, ſo many windings of Porticoes, ſo great a heap of Ruines as you ſhall ſcarce meet with elſe-where.* By theſe accounts it ſeems in its flouriſhing eſtate to have been not much leſs than one of our Univerſities at this day.

t *Bed.* hiſt. II. 2. p. 113.

a *Bed.* hiſt. II. 2. p. 113.

b Gul. Malmesbur. lib. 1. in *Anglicis* p. 9. lin. 3.

c *Girald Cambr.* In *Ireland* c almoſt all their Clergy were elected out of ſuch Monaſteries. Among theſe there was alſo a *Bangor*, which ſeems to have

have been a Colony of the other. It ſeems to have been the more populous of the two, if that be true which *d* we read of *Congal*, who was Abbot there, (and who dyed in the year 601.) that he had at once three thouſand Monks under him. In *Laiſrean*'s Monaſtery in *Leghlin*, there were *e* fifteen hundred Monks together; and yet there might probably be greater than either of theſe in that Country.

d *Waræus* de Script. *Hib.* p. 14.

e *Uſſer*'s Relig. of *Iriſh*. c. 9. p. 99.

To theſe *Iriſh* Monaſteries there went many of the *f* firſt *Saxon* Chriſtians, as well of the Nobility as of the Commonalty, to be bred up there, and fitted for holy Orders. But when *Oſwald*, K. of the *Northumbrians*, had got a Biſhop Ordain'd for his Country, (that was *Aidan* before-mention'd,) then he alſo *g* gave Poſſeſſions and Territories for the founding of Monaſteries in his Kingdom. In theſe Monaſteries the Engliſh were trained up in Studies, and the obſervation of Regular Diſcipline, firſt by thoſe *Iriſh* Monks whom *Aidan* brought with him, and after-

f *Bed.* hiſt. III. 27. p. 241.

g Ib. III. 3.

ward by those whom they had inabled to teach others. To one of these Monasteries K. *Oswy* gave *h* one hundred and twenty Tenements. At *Adbaerve* there was *i* another of fifty Families. At *Ripon* there was *k* another of forty. We may judge how populous they were, by comparing these Numbers with the accounts that are given us of whole Countreys together. For the Isle of *Wight* had *l* twelve hundred Families; *Anglesey* had nine hundred; *Ely m* had six hundred; the Isle of *Man* had *n* three hundred Families; as *Bede* tells us, according to the account of them in his age.

h Ib. III. 24. p. 231.

i Ib. IV. 3. p. 201.

k Ib. III. 25. p. 234.

l Ib. IV. 16. p. 298.

m Ib. IV. 19. p. 309.

n See before c. VI. §. 1. p. 114.

When by this Monastic Education any one was made fit to take Orders, in the judgment of them that were his Superiors in that place, then he was to be Ordained; but by whom? By his Superiors in the Monastery? It must be so, if they had the power of Ordination. And so indeed our Adversaries would have it, that the Abbot and his Senior Monks did Ordain those that were sent out

out of their Monaſtery; and that, not only into the lower Orders, but into the Order of Biſhop, as they ſhew us in the example of *Aidan*, and his Succeſſors. But this is ſo far from being true, that I dare challenge our Adverſaries to ſhew any inſtance, where the Abbot and Monks, without a Biſhop among them, Ordained ſo much as one ſingle Presbyter. I ſhall ſhew on the contrary, by many inſtances, that as it was neceſſary to have Orders conferred in the Monaſteries, (without which there could be no Adminiſtration of Sacraments,) ſo Biſhops were held neceſſary on this very account, that they might confer Orders on thoſe that were judged fit to be Ordained in the Monaſteries.

There were indeed in thoſe times, when Religion and Learning were thought to be much advanced by that way of living, ſuch Exemptions granted to the Monks, for their incouragement, that they were in a manner wholly free from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction. They govern'd all within themſelves, and

kept some kind of Authority over those that were Ordained and sent forth out of their body. This gives colour enough to them that are to seek for Examples in those times for the depressing of the Authority of Bishops. But this will do them no service, when it appears that, notwithstanding all their Exemptions, those Abbots and Seniors could not Ordain without a Bishop, and that many of them were not in Orders themselves, even those that had Bishops subject to them in their Monasteries.

The most antient Priviledges of this kind, that I have observed in the Western Church, were those that were enjoyed by the *African* Monasteries. They were for one while so exempt, that *o* the Bishop, in whose Diocess they were, had nothing to do with them, except when they themselves were pleased to make use of his assistance.

o Concil. Edit. *Labbe.* Tom. IV. col. 1649. & 1735. B.

About the year of Christ, 500. we find *p* they might chuse what Bishop they pleased in the whole Province,

p Ib. Col. 1646. D. E.

vince, to Ordain, and do other Episcopal Acts in their Monastery. It appears *q* that whomsoever they chose they were tyed to; he was their Bishop as long as he lived; but when he dyed, they were not tyed to his Successor; but might chuse, either him, or any other whom they pleased, For (as they pleaded in the Council of *Carthage*) they were *r* not under any Bishop, out of Duty, but out of Choice, except only the Arch-Bishop of *Carthage*, who was their Primate. Afterwards they were confined to the Bishop of the Diocess; so that *s* he, and no other, when they desired it, might Ordain any whom they chose out of their number, or might give Confirmation, or might Consecrate a new Oratory. And it is expressed by what pattern this was done, *t* that it was in like manner as the Monastery of *Lerin* in *France* (now S. *Honorè*,) was confin'd to the Bishop of the Dioceſs.

q Ib.

r Ib. col. 1648. A.

s Ib. col. 1781. B.

t Ib. col. 1649 A, B.

In *France* and *Spain*, how this matter was ordered, it appears in the Canons of their Councils

of *u Agde*, and *w Lerida*. There was none to be Ordain'd in any Monastery, but by the Bishop, in whose Diocess it was. But then it must be at the desire of the Abbot, or at least with his leave, and not otherwise. But besides, we find that some greater Monasteries had Bishops in them of their own; who were elected by the Abbot and Monks, and were Ordained by the adjacent Bishops, to the end that they might Preach, and do Episcopal Offices in their Monasteries. Of this kind we have *x* examples in S. *Martins* near *Tours*, and the Monastery of S. *Denis* near *Paris*, which had such Bishops in them *from antient times*; and we have an account of their Successions for some Ages. The like we have of the Bishops that were in S. *Columbs* Monastery at *Hy*, of whom *y* there is mention in the *Ulster* Annals. So that in either case, of exempt, or not exempt Monasteries, there were Bishops to be had for the Ordaining of Monks; and no pretence to have it done by the Abbot that was no Bishop.

u Concil. *Agath.* c. 27.
w Concil. *Herd.* c. 3.
x *Acta* SS. Ord. *Bened.* Seculo VIII. in præf. p. XX, XXI.
y *Ussh.* de primord. p. 701.

ſhop, thô his Leave or Conſent was needful to the Ordination.

He that had been ſo Ordained in a Monaſtery, z muſt ſtill continue a Monk, and live in Obedience to his Abbot, as well after, as before his Ordination. But this Rule I ſuppoſe did hold only in inferior Orders, and was not obligatory to thoſe Monks that were Ordained Biſhops, any longer than while they continued in their Monaſteries. For when they were diſmiſt to go to their Biſhopricks, they were at their own diſpoſal, to do what, and go whither they pleaſed; without which Liberty they could not attend the affairs of their Dioceſs. There is indeed a alledg'd to the contrary a Canon of the Synod of *Hartford*, which ſeems to import otherwiſe, as it ſtands in the Collection of Councils. For there the words are, that the *Epiſcopi Monachi*, the Biſhops which are Monks, *ſhould not go from place to place*, nor *from Monaſtery to Monaſtery, unleſs by the leave of their own Abbot*, but *they muſt abide in the obedience they had promiſed at*

z P. *Innocent* I. ad *Victricium.* Epiſt. 2. c 10.

a *Blondell.* Apol. pro *Hieron.* p. 371.

the time of their Converſion. But this Canon, together with the reſt of that Synod, are taken out of *b Bede*, as all the Editors acknowledge. And *Bede* is corrupted in that place. For, whereas it is *Epi. Monachi* in the MS. and *Epiſcopi* M. in the common Editions, it ſhould be *Ipi Monachi* in the Ms. that is *Ipſi Monachi*, as *Wheelock* tells us in his *Errata*; and ſo it is in K. *Alfred*'s Saxon Tranſlation; *thoſe Monks ſhall not go from place to place*, &c. the meaning is, that Monks, who were under the degree of being Biſhops, ſhould not travel abroad, but ſhould live in their Monaſteries in Obedience to their Superiors.

b *Bed.* hiſt. IV. 5. p. 273.

Yet if thoſe that were Ordain'd Biſhops of any Dioceſs, ſhould afterwards come to retire in their Monaſteries as *Coleman* did *c* at *Hy* for ſome time after his leaving of *York*, and as *Trumwin* did (*d*) for many years at *Streanſhalh* under *Ælfled*, that was Abbeſs there; in that caſe, there is reaſon to believe that they lived under the ordinary Government in the Monaſtery,

c See before, c. V. §. 7. p. 110.

d *Bed.* hiſt. IV. 26. p. 346, 347.

naſtery, as they did before they were made Biſhops.

As to the Abbots in thoſe times, we find *e* that ſome of them were Biſhops themſelves, as *Cedd*, and *Chad* before-mention'd were Abbots of *Læſtingæa*. Some were only Prieſts, as *g Columba*, and ſeven of his Succeſſors at *Hy*. Some Abbots were not ſo much as Prieſts; but either Deacons, or Sub-deacons; of which we have many inſtances in *h* thoſe places quoted in the Margent. Some Abbots were Lay-men; as the Iriſh *Saranus i* above-mentioned, *Fullan* that was *k* Abbot at *Cnobheresburgh*, and *Switbert* Abbot *l* of *Decore*. The Senior Monks likewiſe, which govern'd under them, and were like the Senior Fellows of our Colledges, might be *m* ſuch as were not in Orders.

And why not? Since even Women were held capable of Governing in thoſe Monaſteries where Men and Women lived together. And theſe Abbeſſes uſed the ſame powers that the Abbots did in other Monaſteries. For they Elected

e Acta SS. *Benedict.* præf. p. XXII. XXIII.
f *Bed.* hiſt. III. 23. & V. 20.
g *Uſſer* de primord. p. 701, 702.
h Concil. Tom. IV. col. 1642. E. Acta SS. *Benedict.* in præf. p. lxxxv.
i See c. IV. §. 6.
k *Bed.* hiſt. III. 19.
l Ib. IV. 32.
m Concil. Tom. IV. col. 1644. D.

lected such of their Monks as they thought fit to be put in Orders; and after they were Ordained they kept them still under their Government, unless they gave them a Mission to go forth upon the work of the Ministery. Thus *n Ebba* Abbess of *Coludesburh* had several Priests in the Monastery. S. *Bridget* Abbess of *Kildare* had divers such in her Monastery, out of whom she Elected *Conlian* to be Bishop there, saith *o* the old Writer of her Life. We have many other instances of this power in Abbesses of those times; but I shall only mention one more, that of *Hilda*, (*p* great Grandchild to K. *Edwin*) whom *Aidan* made Abbess of *Streaneshalh*, and who for her Piety and excellent Discipline is famous in the Saxon History. *Bede q* saith, *She so held her Subjects to the reading of Scripture, and doing works of Righteousness, that many among them were fit to be Churchmen, and to serve at the Altar. So that we afterwards saw five Bishops out of her Monastery*, and *Tatfrith*, a sixth, was Elected Bishop, but dyed

n *Bed.* hist. IV. 25.

o *War.* de Script. *Hibern.* I. 2.

p *Bed.* hist. IV. 23. p. 320.

q Ib. p. 322.

dyed before he could be Ordain'd. Being ſo well ſtored with Learned men as ſhe was, and having ſuch a power over them as ſhe had, it is no wonder that we *r* read of her being preſent, *with her Clergy* about her, at the Synod that was held at her Monaſtery for the deciding of that great Controverſie about the right time of keeping *Eaſter*. She was there, as became a true Diſciple of *Aidans*, to maintain the Scottiſh ſide againſt the Roman in that Controverſie. And therefore, when we read that ſhe Elected and ſent-forth Biſhops and Prieſts, thô ſhe did not Ordain them, nor could do it by reaſon of her Sex, it ſufficiently ſhews us the manner of thoſe Scottiſh Monaſteries. The Abbots and Monks, tho ſimple Prieſts, yea, tho Laymen, could Elect, and ſend forth, as *Hilda* did; but they could not confer holy Orders. That could be done only by a Biſhop; whom therefore they either called from abroad, or they had one reſiding in the Monaſtery for that purpoſe.

r Bed. hiſt. III. 25.

This

This account of the Antient Monks, and especially of those in these Islands, being gathered out of the Writers of those times; I take it to be a sufficient confutation of that Modern fiction of a Scottish Ordination by Presbyters, which being formed by Popish Monks for the honour of their way, has been catched up by some amongst us to give a colour of Antiquity to their Innovations.

I know not what is more to be done, unless one could shew what it was that set their Wits on work for this Fable.

Perhaps it might be occasioned by that passage of *Bede*, in the *s* Chapter where he speaks of *Colnmba*'s coming hither. I shall set down his words, that the Reader may the better consider it. Columba *came into* Britain *when* Bridius *Reigned over the* Picts----*He by his Word and Example converted that Nation to the Faith of* Christ, *and thereupon he received from them the aforesaid Island* [of Hy] *in possession for the building of a Monastery; for it is not great, but contains*

s *Bed.* hist. III. 4. p. 169.

tains about five Engliſh miles, which his Succeſſors hold till this day. Before he came into Britain, *he had built a noble Monaſtery in* Ireland, *which is called* Dearmarch *in the* Scottiſh *Language.* [By the *Scottiſh* here, it is plain that *Bede* means the *Iriſh.*] He adds, that *from both theſe Monaſteries* [of *Dearmarch,* and of *Hy*] *there were afterwards propagated by his Diſciples very many other Monaſteries both in* Brittain *and in* Ireland, [that is North *Ireland*, and the *Picts* Countrey] *among all which the Iſland-Monaſtery* [at *Hy*] *where his body reſts, is the principal.* [So elſewhere he ſhews that other Monaſteries were ſubject to it.] He goes on concerning *Hy, But that Iſland is ever wont to have for its Governour an Abbot in Prieſts Orders, to whoſe right both* ALL THE PROVINCE, *and alſo* THE VERY BISHOPS *in an unuſual order ought to be ſubject, according to the example of the firſt Teacher* [Columba] *who was not a Biſhop, but a Monk in Prieſts Orders.*

From

From these words of *Bede*, not rightly understood, I suppose, it was that this following Note was inserted into the latter Copies of the *t Saxon* Chronicle; Columba *Priest came to the* Picts, *and Converted them to the Christian Faith, who at that time dwelt in the* North-Moores, *and their King gave him the Island which is named* Hy, *wherein there are five hides of Land. There it is said that* Columba *built a Monastery. The place has yet his Heirs. There ought to be ever in* Hy *an Abbot and not a Bishop, and* ALL THE BISHOPS OF THE SCOTS *ought to be under him, because that* Columba *was Abbot and not Bishop.*

t *Saxon.* Chron. Ann. DLX.

These words of the *Saxon* Chronicle, *Anno* 560. were all put in by a later hand. For the old *Saxon* Chronicle has nothing of *Columba* in that year. Nor has *Ethelward*, nor *Florence* of *Worcester*, who almost transcribed the old Chronicle. But in the year 565. *u* it has these words, *Here* Columba, *Priest of the* Scots, *came into* Britain, *to teach the* Picts, *and they built him a Monastery in an Island.* This is all that

u *Sax.* Chron. Ann. DLXV.

that was Antiently in the book, and all that both thoſe Hiſtorians have tranſcribed. Afterward thoſe other words before-mentioned, were inſerted in another year of the Chronicle. And it ſeems they came in late, by what is ſaid concerning the *Picts*, that they dwelt *at that time* in the North-Moores. It ſeems the Addition was made ſome time after the year 850. for it was about that year that the *Picts* were conquered by the *Scots*, and till then they continued in their old habitation. Perhaps the addition was made after *Ethelward* and *Marianus*, whom *Florence* tranſcribed, had writ their Hiſtories. At leaſt it had not got into the Copies that they uſed, nor is it in the ancienter Copies at this day.

I ſhew the lateneſs of this Addition to the *Saxon* Chronicle, to make it appear, that he that inſerted it, knew nothing of thoſe times, but what he had out of *Bede*'s Hiſtory; and that therefore no great uſe can be made of his Authority either way. Yet I ſet down his words, to ſhew whence it

it was, probably, that the Fable was taken by *John* of *Fordon*, and his followers, of Monks in Prieſts Orders, governing the Church in *Scotland*, and of thoſe governing Monks, being called THE BISHOPS OF THE SCOTS.

But to ſhew that there is no ground for it from *Bede*'s words, I ſhall now conſider them again, and make *Bede* himſelf his own interpreter. He ſaith, the Iſle of *Hy*, which was given to *Columba* in poſſeſſion, and on which he built his Monaſtery, is ever ſince *governed* by the Abbots his Succeſſors. He ſaith, that *all* THE PROVINCE, *and alſo the very* BISHOPS, *in an unuſual order, ought to be ſubject* to this Abbot. The main difficulty is, to know of what *Province* he ſaith this. *Hector Boethius* and his followers underſtand it of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. But that which is now call'd *Scotland*, had many Kingdoms in it, in *Bede*'s time; and one of them, namely, the Kingdom of the *North-Picts*, in which this Iſland was, contained divers *Provinces*, as *a Bede* calls

a *Bed.* hiſt. V. 22. p. 459.

calls *them*. And he tells us in (*e*) this very Chapter, that *Columba* came to Preach the Word of God to the *Province* of the North-*Picts*. And it is familiar with him to call (*f*) a Biſhop's Dioceſe, by the name of a *Province*. So that, as far as one can judge by his Words, he meant nothing elſe, but that all the *Province* or Dioceſe which was under the Biſhop of *Hy*, did then belong to the Monaſtery. And whoſoever will have the word *Province* to be underſtood in any larger extent, muſt ſhew it out of ſome other Authour, that ſaith it of his own time, or of a time within memory, that *then* there was a larger *Province*, or that there were ſeveral *Provinces* ſubject to that Monaſtery. But that I am ſatisfied none can juſtly pretend to doe. *Bede* (*g*) ſaith, there were other Monaſteries ſubject to it, as *Cells* uſed to be to that Convent from which they were derived. But neither he, nor any other Authour, ſaith it of other *Provinces*, or of a larger than that which I have mentioned.

(*e*) *Bed.* hiſt. III. 4. p. 168.

(*f*) *Bed.* hiſt. V. 24. p. 483, 484.

(*g*) Ib. V. 16. p. 433. & V. 23. p. 479.

Chap. VII. § 7. Then for the word *Biſhops* which *Bede* has in the plural number, and which late *Scotiſh* Writers extend to all the Biſhops in *England*; as they cannot ſhew that any other, but the Biſhop of *Hy*, was ever ſubject to the Abbat of that place: So neither doth it appear that *Bede* did here intend any other. He ſpeaks onely of one *Province*, or Dioceſe as I have explained it. And that indeed could have but one Biſhop at a time. But it might have many ſucceſſively, and ſo I underſtand the place. The Biſhop of *Hy* had his Seat at *Sodora* in that Iſland; and yet might have all the North-*Picts* in his Dioceſe, at firſt, as the Biſhop of *Lindisfarn* had all the *Northumbrians*. And yet afterwards, when the North-*Picts* had more Biſhops; he that dwelt there at *Hy* might have onely the Iſles to his Dioceſe. I am not confident of that. But whatſoever Dioceſe they had, it is certain that the Biſhops that ſate there ſucceſſively, till *Bede*'s time, were all ſubject to the Abbat of that Monaſtery.

Sodora in the Iſle of *Hy*.

This

This was indeed, as *Bede* calls it, an *unuſual* thing. For the manner was otherwiſe in other places; and eſpecially at the place that was beſt known to him, that is, at *Lindisfarn* before mention'd. There was both a Biſhop's See, and a Monaſtery in the ſame City, as *Bede* ſaith (*h*) more than once; and ſo it was probably in all other places that he knew. Therefore he might well ſay, that for the Biſhop to be ſubject to the Abbat, was *ordine inuſitato*, not according to the order that was uſual in other places, and at his *Lindisfarn* in particular.

(*h*) *Bed.* hiſt. IV. 27. p. 350. & *in vitâ* Cutberti, *c.* 16.

But at *Hy*, there was a reaſon for it, which was as unuſual as the thing it ſelf. For, whereas in almoſt all other places there were Biſhops before there were Monaſteries, and there (*i*) it was not lawfull to build any Monaſtery without the leave of the Biſhop; here at *Hy*, on the contrary, there was no Chriſtian before *Columba* came thither. And when he was come, and had converted both King and People, (*g*) gave him the Iſland

(*i*) Concil. *Chalcedon.* can. 4. & Concil. *Agath.* c. 27.

(*k*) *Bed.* hiſt. III. 5. p. 169.

Chap. VII. § 7.

in poſſeſſion for the building of a Monaſtery; and withall, for the maintenance of it, they gave him the (*l*) Royalty of the Neighbouring Iſles; ſix of which are mentiond by (*m*) *Buchanan*, as belonging to the Monaſtery. And therefore, though *Columba* found it neceſſary to have a Biſhop, and was pleaſed to give him a Seat in his Iſland, and perhaps to put the other Iſles under his jurisdiction; yet it is not ſtrange that he thought fit to keep the Royalty ſtill to himſelf and his Succeſſours.

(*l*) *Adamnan.* vit. *Columb.*

(*m*) *Buchan.* rerum *Scot.* fol. 10. lin. 18.

It is no more ſtrange that it ſhould be ſo there, than that it is ſo now in many places; and at *Oxford* particularly, where a Biſhop now lives, and is as well known to be a Prelate of the *Engliſh* Church as any other; the Government is veſted in the *Univerſity* excluſively of him; and not onely the Chancellour and his Deputy have precedence of the Biſhop; but every private Scholar is exempt from his cogniſance and juriſdiction: Yet notwithſtanding this, if any one thus privileg'd, hap-

happen to have a Parochial cure, whether it be in the Dioceſe or Univerſity it ſelf, they become ſubject to the Biſhop as others are; and if any Epiſcopal act be to be perform'd, whether it be the Conſecration of the Chapel of any College or Hall in the Univerſity; or Holy Orders, or Confirmation be to be receiv'd by a private Scholar; recourſe is had unto the Biſhop; and in caſe of Ordination, the Perſon Ordain'd makes the ſame recognition with others, that *he will reverently obey his Ordinary*. So that we ſee here the Chancellour and Scholars have the ſame Authority by their Charter, that K. *Bridius* gave to *Columba* and his Monks, onely it does not extend through the whole Dioceſe; but is limited according to the pleaſure of our Kings, who might have extended it as far as they pleaſed; and yet a farther extent of this Liberty, though it had been ſuch an abridgment of the Epiſcopal Power, as never was known till Monkery came into the Church, yet had not been a ſuppreſſing of

Chap. VII. § 7. the Order, which is the thing our Adverſaries drive at. How juſtly they of all men inveigh againſt Monkery, that borrow their patterns from their Innovations, and where thoſe will not reach, piece them out with their Fables, and do as it were endeavour to reſtore it, by their darkening the Church Hiſtory, to deſtroy the Government of it: Theſe things I leave to the Readers conſideration.

FINIS.

A Catalogue of other Pieces and Sermons written by *William Lloyd*, Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph.*

A *Seaſonable Diſcourſe, ſhewing the Neceſſity of maintaining the Eſtabliſhed Religion, in oppoſition to Popery:* Printed *Anno Dom.* 1674. Quarto.

The Defence between the Church and Court of Rome, *conſidered in ſome reflexions on a Dialogue Entituled, A Conference between two Proteſtants and a Papiſt*, 1674. Quarto.

A Seaſonable Defence of the Seaſonable Diſcourſe; ſhewing the neceſſity of maintaining the Eſtabliſhed Religion, in oppoſition to Popery; or a Reply to a Treatiſe, called, A full Anſwer and Confutation of a Scandalous Pamphlet, &c. 1674. Quarto.

The late Apology in behalf of the Papiſts, Reprinted and Anſwered in behalf of the Royaliſts, 1675, Quar.

Con-

Considerations touching the true way to Suppress Popery in this Kingdom, by making a distinction between Men of Loyal and Disloyal Principles in that Communion: On occasion whereof is inserted an Historical Account of the Reformation here in England, 1677. Quarto.

His Sermon before the King at White-Hall, *Decemb.* 1. 1667. *Text* John iv. 14.

On the Funeral of the L. Bi. *of* Chester, *at* Guild-Hall *Chapel*, Lond. *on* Decem. 12. 1672. *Text* Heb. xiii. 7.

——*Before the King at* White-Hall, *March* 6. 167$\frac{3}{4}$. *Text* Rom. viii. 13.

On the Funeral of Sir E. B. Godfry, Octob. *the last day*, 1678. *at St.* Martins *in the Fields: Text* 2 Sam. iii. 33, 34.

Another at St. Martins *in the Fields*, Novemb. *5th.* 1678. *Text*, John xvi. 2.

Another before the King at White-Hall, *Nov.* 24. 1678. *T.* Act. ii. 42.

Another before the House of Lords, on Novem. 5. 1680. *Text*, Psal. cxxiii. 1, 2, 3.

Sold by *Charles Brome.* 1684.